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AS YOUR NEW EDITOR OF STAMMBAUM, I am delighted to assemble for this Issue 25 a wide variety of articles submitted by experienced researchers in German-Jewish genealogy. This issue commences with the first part of an important review of German racist theory and its effect on the practice of genealogy in Germany. This story will be completed in a forthcoming issue of *Stammbaum*. Of particular importance in publishing this three-part article is the arrangement made with Cercle de Généalogie Juive, which will simultaneously issue this series in French for its journal, *Revue du Cercle de Généalogie Juive*. Other topics represented in this issue range from childhood memories of the life of *Landjuden* in the small town of Schrimm; to classical research based on archival references that explore the emigration of German Jewry to the U.S.A. and South Africa; to the identification of unusual sources at the Library of Congress; to investigations that utilize tools of the Internet, such as search engines like Google.

In Issue 24, Peter Lande presented genealogically-related guidelines for pursuing sources and information for the Rheinland-Pfalz. Peter suggested that other German territories be given similar treatment in subsequent issues of *Stammbaum*. We follow this recommendation and herein offer suggestions for researching Jewish presence in Vienna and the German speaking area of Switzerland, including in the latter a summary of the editorial content of the preeminent Swiss publication, *Maajan*.

George E. Arnstein, former editor of *Stammbaum* and a current member of its Advisory Committee, initiates in this issue a new department, *Topics and Events*, devoted to reporting on special news events and announcements related to the interests of German-Jewish genealogy researchers. Readers are invited to send suggestions or content for future columns to him at GARNSTEIN@CALALUM.ORG.

I welcome submission of more articles or book reviews to *Stammbaum*. Please see our submission policies at the end of this issue for manuscript preparation and illustration formatting.

I hope that I will have the pleasure of greeting many readers of *Stammbaum* at the forthcoming IAJGS 24th International Conference on Jewish Genealogy to be held in Jerusalem, Israel during the week beginning 4 July 2004.

Werner L. Frank, Editor
This Year in Jerusalem

Cover image: World War I Frontsoldat Arthur Frank (1895, Eppingen–1981, Chicago) with sister Martha Frank Levi (1903, Eppingen–1942, Auschwitz) in 1917. *Story begins on page 20.*

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The Racist Obsession of the National Socialists and its Impact on German-Jewish Genealogical Research

PART I: GERMAN GENEALOGY UP TO 1933, A THREEFOLD CONVERGENCE

BY ERNEST KALLMANN

Initially, this paper was intended to only discuss the *Reichssippenamt* (RSA, the "ethnic purification organ of the S.S."), and its impact on researching German-Jewish genealogy. Upon further investigation I realized that I was only touching the visible tip of a widely ignored history. The racist obsession of the Nazis, which made ancestral research a national and institutional activity, had much earlier roots. My definition of the RSA had been too limited, as had been my previous beliefs on this topic. The scope of this article needed significant extension.

Part One sketches the rise of racism in Germany at the end of the 19th century, showing its influence on genealogy, eugenic theories based on a biased use of genetics, and Teutonic myths. Parts Two and Three, forthcoming in future issues of *Stammbaum*, will describe how genealogy had become an institutional tool of Nazi politics, spreading widely among the German population, and will show the effects of the Nazi racist obsession on today's German-Jewish genealogy research.

Beginning around 1880, three fields of interest converged on the Jewish question in Germany: genealogy, eugenic theories based on bio-genetics, the Teutonic/Aryan myths, and nationalism.

GENEALOGY

IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY A SOCIAL CHANGE OCCURRED IN GERMANY. The middle-class, as distinct from the aristocracy, began to assume economic and political power. Like the noble families, this stratum of society also began a pursuit of genealogy. Reconstructing ancestral lines satisfied the ego of individuals who were not ashamed of their origin. Genealogy became popular with an intensity of research, followed by an increase in publishing activity.

As early as the 1870s, bourgeois genealogy societies had been founded. From the start, they created a *völkisch*[1] atmosphere, barring Jews from participation and feeding anti-Semitic sentiments. In 1904, the *Zentralstelle für deutsche Personen und Familiengeschichte* (Central Organ for German Personal and Family History) was set up. Here also, Jews were not permitted to join.[2] In 1913, a non-Jewish member of the Berlin section resigned from the organization, forced out because he married a lady with a Polish name.[3]

Anti-Semitism in Germany, as elsewhere, has been a problem for centuries. However, the legal and social status of Jews significantly improved in the late 19th century and this continued through the beginning of the 20th century. Unfortunately, old barriers remained. For instance, the student fraternities (*Burschenschaften*) required that the applicants swear a "blood confession" (*Blutsbekenntnis*) attesting that they were not of Jewish descent. In case of doubt, written evidence of racial purity had to be submitted. Selecting student fraternities as a focus for discrimination was not an accidental choice since such organizations were stepping-stones to the intellectual professions.

Jews continued to face major obstacles in obtaining access to governmental positions, though even these barriers were gradually eroding. The educated Jewish elite instead focused on the professions such as medicine, law and journalism. This, in turn, sparked increased jealousy by others. Moreover, a new basis of anti-Semitism began to appear.

BIO-GENETICS

Around 1910, German psychiatrists became interested in genealogy. The initial idea, to be confirmed by modern molecular genetics, was that certain diseases were hereditary. The diseases of the mind, which nobody knew how to cure at that time, became a privileged field for research. A psychiatrist, Ernst Rüdin, launched in 1918 the *Deutsche Forschungsanstalt für Psychiatrie* (German Institute of Psychiatric Research) in Munich. He was appointed head of the Genealogy and Demography Department. The Institute was generously supported by benefactors, among which were wealthy American Jewish families with German roots.[4] The Institute was part of the *Kaiser Wilhelm Institut* (Institute of Emperor Wilhelm), which was renamed *Max-Planck-Gesellschaft* after WWII, becoming the main German research organization.

The operating methods, especially the statistical methods chosen, were influenced by the encompassing racist opinions. The cost of the research was to be supported by the resulting savings in the care and maintenance of the "sick and deficient of all kind." This distortion of eugenics would ultimately justify "euthanasia" with respect to handicapped of all sorts, as well as "racial improvement" by selective matchmaking. In time, the Institute had set up some 27,000 family trees of psychopaths, epileptics, the handicapped, criminals and even people with superior intelligence.[5]

THE TEUTONIC MYTHS

In parallel with the theories on genetics, the myth of the "Armans" (*Armanen*) was fabricated. This name is contracted from "Aryan" and "German."[6] The Teutonic mythology, as advanced for example in Wagner's *Singspiele*, calls on the polytheist gods of the Walhalla, a paganistic rejection of Christianity, as an imported creed, along with Judaism. The Runes, characters of the primitive Nordic writings, become fashionable again. Their best known symbol, the swastika, was adopted as the mark of the Aryan-Germans. A faulty interpretation of Darwin's theories suggested the idea of "improving the race" by preventing the mixture with "foreign blood."[7]

Thus the foundations of Nazi racism were set from the beginning of the 20th century. There evolved a genealogical snowballing effect as one family tree proliferated to wider and wider circles, the objective being to create a Family Tree of the Legitimate Aryans. In parallel, the word *Familie* is replaced by *Geschlecht* and eventually *Sippe* (see sidebar, "How do you say 'genealogy' in German?" on page six). One of the masters of German genealogy, Bernhard Koerner, published in 1902 the first yearly volume of *Genealogisches Handbuch bürgerlicher Familien* (Genealogical Handbook of Bourgeois Families) with the subtitle *Deutsches Geschlechterbuch* (Book of the German Breeds). The 1920 edition bears two swastikas, a proof among many examples of the convergence of racism and genealogy.

VOLK: THE BLOOD AS THE ROOT OF THE NATION. *Volk* means the People. Where we use the word Nation, the Germans use *Volk*. The National Guard is the *Volkssturm*. The rallying cry—*Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer*—marks the object of national union as the People. The adjective *völkisch* is strongly connotated as nationalist and segregationist. *Volksdeutsche* have German family roots, wherever they live and whatever their passport. The residents of the Sudetenland bearing a German family name, as well as the Volga Germans, received a German passport immediately upon their return to German soil, based on the right of their blood.

THE ADVENT OF NAZISM AND THE ARYAN PEDIGREE

Hitler became Chancellor at the end of January 1933. On March 23 he was granted legislative power by the representatives of the *Reichstag* (put on fire on February 27). On April 7, the first discriminatory laws against Jews and "other undesirables" were promulgated. The Law to Restore the Civil Service (*Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*) specified that public employees must document their Aryanism, i.e. that they are not Jewish. Defining a Jew was easy; he had at least one grandparent of Jewish religion.

This law and the other legislative steps of the same April 7, 1933 had obviously been prepared well in advance.[8] It would not have been possible to have them accepted and

HOW DO YOU SAY "GENEALOGY" IN GERMAN?

The simplest answer, for us, is *Genealogie*, a literal translation from Latin. The Germans also use three other forms: *Familienkunde*, *Sippenkunde* and *Geschlechterkunde*. This variety in naming is far from innocent.

German composed words are to be read starting with the end. The final *-kunde* is the science, the equivalent to our *-logy*. The specific science is determined by the initial noun. *Familie* is obvious, the combination with *Kunde* is an example of the trend to replace "imported" words by their German equivalent; *Familie* has been used for so long that the average German has forgotten its Latin origin.

Sippe is defined by sociologists as "a group of individuals tied through their common blood, by a strong feeling of common belonging and by common customs and rules," and by extension to all individuals tied by common blood. It is translated here as "ethnic group." Moreover, the term has a tribal connotation. (If anything, this meaning could well be applied to the Jewish people.)

Geschlecht has several meanings. It is the sex (male/female) of living beings, the gender (masculine/feminine) of nouns, the gender or the species in biology. It also designates the estates (nobility, clerics, bourgeoisie). Swiss dialects use it for family name. The use that genealogists prefer is lineage, descent from a noble ancestor.

In English the words gene, gender, generate and genealogy all have the common Latin root genus and cover similar notions.

applied if the political prerequisites (acceptance, at least silently, of the racist theories and the feelings of anti-Semitism) and the technical factors (sufficient dissemination of genealogical knowledge and activities) had not been already instilled in the populace.

The other laws of April 7 were specific to the Jews and barred them from being lawyers, journalists or newspaper editors. Combined with the restrictions in public service (which included railway and postal personnel), they resulted in neutralizing any and all Jewish objections to subsequent restrictive measures. The courts and the press were Aryanized; Jews no longer had a voice that might intercede or object on their behalf.

How could a civil servant prove his Aryan descent? He was obliged to produce his *Ahnenpass*, literally the "ancestral passport."[9] Here, we designate it as the "Aryan pedigree." The Aryan-Germans believed they could register mankind in the same way that breeding farms kept records of dogs and horses. In the breeding farms, the improvement of the species was ensured by the selection of the progenitors. Now genealogy became central to the very heart of the State which attempted to control the propagation process.

The Aryan pedigree was rapidly standardized. It used models from previous genealogy publications. It was a booklet, some 12 by 20 cm. Its introduction varied according to who was the publisher. One can find on the Internet a website containing the 39 pages of an *Ahnenpass* for a then living individual (see WWW.KROENER.INFO/AHNENPASS/KR%F6NER/) where the pedigree is displayed without any comment regarding its authenticity. The cover bears the German eagle holding the swastika in its claws. The introduction is by Hitler with a facsimile signature. It is the Nazi Party's model. This title page is shown in Figure 1.[10]

The *Ahnenpass* of the National Association of German Civil State Agents does not display the swastika; the eagle holds the association's logo on a breast-shield. The two-page initial notice stresses the practical steps and cautions to be observed in gathering the data. A paragraph about the "race principle" and a discourse about "Aryan descent" follow. Here "Aryanism" is defined as distinct from "foreign" blood, the blood of Jews, Gypsies, Africans, Asians or North-American Indians, all of which "pollute" the Aryan blood. On

Der Ahnenpaß

des / der

Name: .....

Ort: .....

Anschrift: .....

Fernsprecher: .....

Verlag für Standesamtswesen G. m. b. H.
Berlin SW 61

wird in der Regel nur als Hilfsmittel zur Prüfung herangezogen. Darüber wird noch später im Zusammenhang mit der Behandlung der Zweifelsfälle zu sprechen sein. Schon hier muß aber davor gewarnt werden, jemanden auf Grund seines Aussehens allein etwa der jüdischen Abstammung zu verdächtigen.

Gewiß kann auch der urkundliche Abstammungsnachweis Fehler enthalten etwa dadurch, daß ein der Geburtsurkunde nach eheliches Kind im Ehebruch gezeugt wurde. Aber es hieße doch, die deutsche Mutter als solche und damit unsere eigenen Ahnen leichtfertig und schimpflich zu beleidigen, wollte man annehmen, daß diese Fälle im Vergleich zur Gesamtzahl häufig vorkämen oder vorgekommen wären. Hier muß als oberster Grundsatz der gelten, daß die eheliche Vaterschaft nur dann anzuzweifeln ist, wenn der Beweis dafür zweifelsfrei erbracht werden kann.

Da für den Abstammungsnachweis im Gegensatz zum Erbrecht nur die leiblichen Eltern maßgebend sind, gehören Adoptivelternn, Stief- und Pflege-(Ziehe-)eltern natürlich nicht in die amtserfolgende Ahnenaufstellung. Sie haben dem Blute, der Rasse nach keinerlei Einfluß auf die Erbmasse der zu untersuchenden Person. Wichtig ist die Beachtung dieser Tatsache bei allen unehelich oder außerehelich Geborenen und bei Findelkindern. In allen diesen Fällen wird es darauf ankommen, die tatsächlichen Erzeuger (leiblichen Väter und Mütter) festzustellen und deren weitere Ahnen in die Aufstellung aufzunehmen. Falsche Scham ist hier nicht am Platze. Es fällt heute einem vernünftigen Menschen mehr ein, einen Volksgenossen geringer zu achten, weil er oder einer seiner Ahnen unehelich geboren wurde. Um so mehr aber wollen wir in Zukunft in richtiger Erkenntnis des Wertes, den die Familie für die Erziehung der Kinder und als Bauzelle des Volkes hat, dadurch erreichen, daß jedes deutsche Kind einem festen Lebensbunde seiner Eltern sein Dasein zu verdanken hat. Und auch dort, wo Einzelumstände dem Kinde dieses Glück versagen, darf es nie mehr in die Sorge kommen, nicht zu wissen, wer sein Vater ist.

Aufbau der Ahnentafel

Urgroßeltern (Ur-Ur-Ur-Großeltern):	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63
Großeltern (Ur-Ur-Großeltern):	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31																
Ur-Großeltern:	8		9		10		11		12		13		14		15																	
Großeltern:	4			5					6					7																		
Eltern:	2 (Vater)																3 (Mutter)															
	1																															

Figure 1 (this page, left): Title page of the Ahnenpass*; Figure 2 (this page, right):* Ahnenpass*: last page of instructions for structuring the family tree; Figure 3 (following page): Detail of husband/wife family data.*

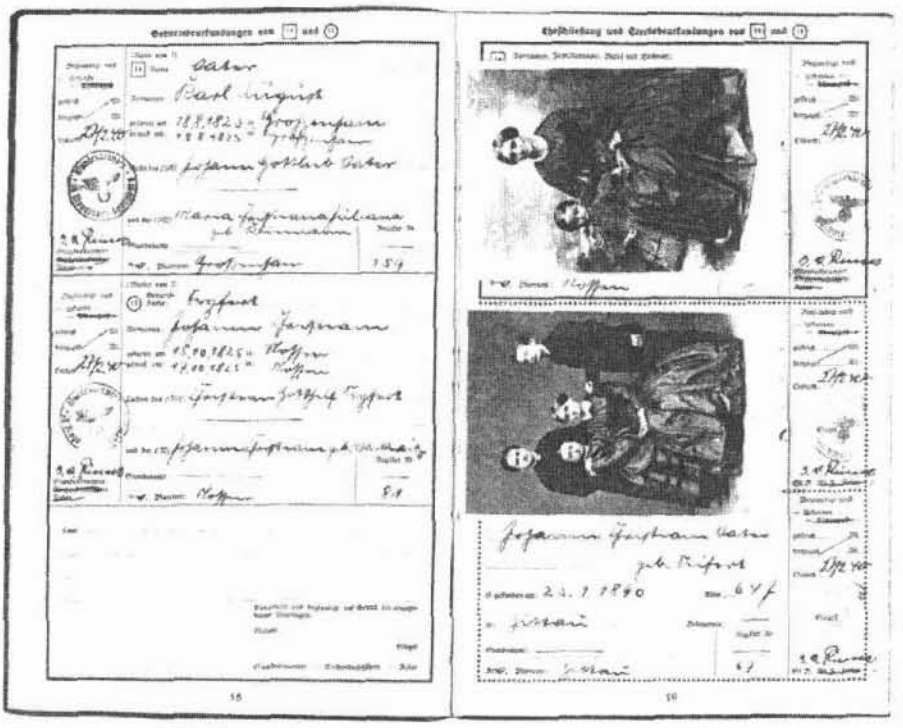
IDEOLOGY AND GENEALOGY

In the introduction of the Aryan pedigree (in the *Ahnenpass* of the Federation of Standesbeamten), researching the biological father is considered more important, from the race point of view, than the restraint which an out-of-marriage or even adulterous birth seems to command:

"No reasonable person would nowadays think the idea of misjudging a co-citizen (*Volksgenosse*, a comrade of the people) because one of his/her ancestors is an illegitimate child. We recognize the value of the family [in the] education of the child and as [a] building block of the people and we shall from now on endeavor that each German child owes its existence to parents united by stable ties. Even if special circumstances deprived the child of that luck, it should never suffer from ignoring who its father is."

Nevertheless in 1936 this rule was mitigated. From that year on, the registry officers were required to research the racial purity of bride and bridegroom when preparing the posting of the banns. They must prevent an Aryan from marrying a "sub-human," according to complex criteria. According to the Nürnberg Laws, mixed marriages, essentially with Jews, produce half-breeds (*Mischlinge*) of first or second degree, according to the number of Jewish grandparents. Here also, births out of marriage create problems. Here is what the Ministry of Interior published on July 6, 1936 to alleviate this matter:

"A birth out of marriage does not automatically imply a scrutiny by the *Reichsstelle für Sippenforschung* [National Office of Ethnic Research—see Part Two]. In many cases a careful survey by the registry authorities of civil state, forensic, etc. records should supply sufficient enlightenment about the origin of the father. Should the mentioned records above supply no certitude, and if no other element of proof is found, the child of a mother of German or allied blood will be considered as being of German blood, pending evidence to the contrary or except special circumstances."



the other hand, the English, Swedes, French, Czechs, Poles or Italians, taken as examples, were considered as allies and thus Aryans "as far as their blood had been protected from pollution." It goes on further to state, "It is nevertheless obvious that for marriage, a girl of pure German descent will be nearer to us than another Aryan of more remote racial kin."

In order to apply for membership in the NSDAP (*National-Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter-Partei*), the National-Socialist German Worker Party, showing one's pedigree was compulsory. In this case, the tree must reach back to and encompass all ancestors living on 1 January 1800.

The date 1 January 1800 was justified by the French Revolution's founding of the concept of "liberalism," which had led to the emancipation of the Jews. This had resulted in increasing marriages with non-Jews, and the dwindling of the notions of "purity" in family, *Sippe* and *Volk*. Going back to the 1800 period was, therefore, an assurance of a starting point before the influx of mixed marriages. Conversion of Aryans to the Jewish religion was considered quite unlikely.

The data to be supplied for the *Ahnenpass* were names, dates and location of birth/baptism, marriage and death. For each event, the Church or civil record had to be found and transcribed. Illegitimate children were informed that they must find their biological progenitor, without shame.[11] If the civil servant or Party member was already married or about to get married, he had to complete a pedigree for his spouse.

The introduction to the *Ahnenpass* continues with pages of forms that make up a genuine genealogy handbook employing a family tree set-up using the Sosa/Stradonitz[12] lineage numbering scheme (Figure 2). Each family unit of ancestors has a double page allocated (Figure 3). The left-hand page shows the birth/baptism data of the husband on top and the wife, below (Figure 4, page 8). In the left margin, space is provided for the recording office to attest, by a handwritten signature and a stamp, that the data transcribed were in accordance with the original record. On the right page, the same procedure applied for

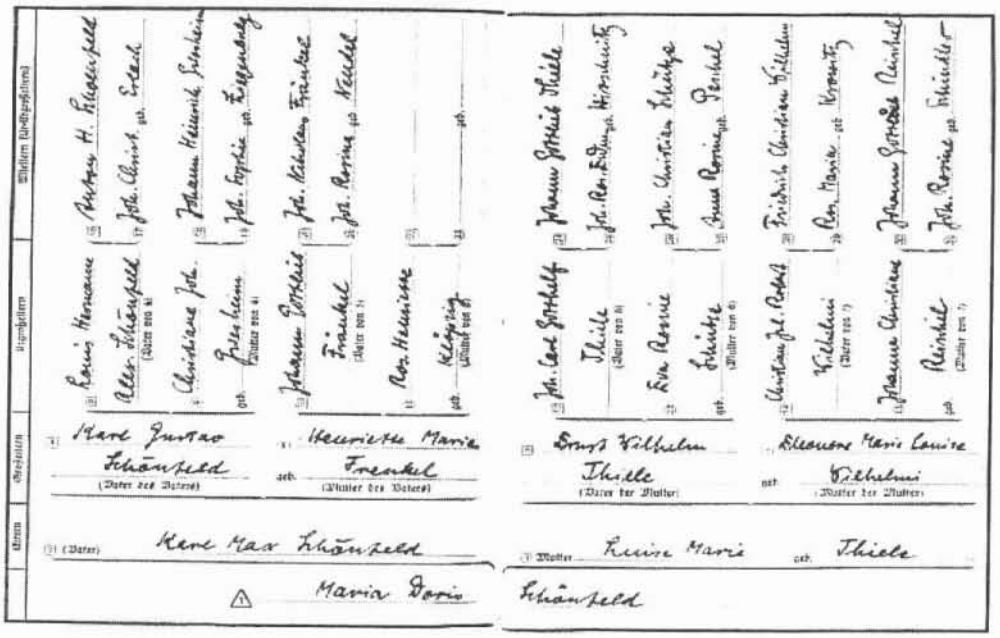
marriages and deaths. In the example shown in Figure 3, the descendants have included photos of their ancestors which mask a large portion of text.[13] When the 31 ancestors (or 63 in the case of applications for Party membership) were completed, the result was transferred to the four- or five-generation family tree shown in Figure 5.

By 1939, the NSDAP had some eight million members. Through the spousal adherence of these members, there were probably over 10 million German adults who were put in contact with genealogy during the 1933-1945 duration of the "Thousand Year Reich."

Since Jews had been set apart from the general genealogical activity of the German public, they organized their own genealogical societies, as for example the Gesellschaft für die Geschichte der Juden in Elsass und Lothringen (presently Société d'Histoire des Israélites d'Alsace et de Lorraine) and the Gesellschaft für jüdische Familien-forschung with headquarters in Berlin. Noteworthy was the publication by the latter organization of the distinguished periodical, *Jüdische Familien-Forschung*, under the leadership of Arthur Czellitzer from 1924 until 1938.

The end of the 19th and the first part of the 20th century paradoxically became a Golden Age for Jewish genealogy in Germany. This was the time that the great Jewish genealogists emerged in Germany, such as Bernhard Brilling, Paul Jacobi and Berthold Rosenthal. Their pioneering efforts had positive effects and facilitated modern Jewish genealogy as it later evolved worldwide. Much of the documentation from this period consisted of original records which were assembled during the Nazi period by Jews who were forbidden to work by the racial regulations and started to concentrate on genealogy. Upon their emigration they carefully safeguarded these files in order to preserve their history. Examples of such efforts are contained in the archives of the Leo Baeck Institute, such as the Moritz Vierfelder Collection and the Alfred Teutsch Collection, both having assisted this author in reconstructing his own family history.

Figure 4 (right): Family unit description in the Ahnenpass*; Figure 5 (left): Four-generation pedigree chart.*



NOTES

[1] See sidebar, "Volk: the blood as the source of the Nation," p. 5.

[2] Consequently, Jews on their side (re)discover genealogy. German Jews become the vanguard of research in Jewish genealogy.

[3] Anti-Semitism at that time was not concealed as an excerpt from a letter dated 12 August 1888 expressed upon the accession of William II, then 29, to the German throne: "Our new young Kaiser, on whom the Anti-Semitic Party sets great hopes, has as yet behaved rather neutrally in this respect." There was indeed a political force named the Anti-Semitic Party in the *Reichstag*.

[4] Families Loeb, Heinsheimer and Warburg are so cited by Dorothee Früh in *Die Genealogie als Hilfswissenschaft der Humangenetik* in *Jahrbuch fuer Geschichte & Theorie der Biologie, Band 6, 1999, Verlag Wissenschaft & Bildung, Berlin.*

[5] The Institute operated at full speed until 1945, without ever succeeding in exploiting all of the collected data. After the War, the Americans dismissed Rüdin and installed his aide Bruno Schulz. After Schulz's death in 1954, Rüdin's daughter ran the Institute as a one-woman business. When she retired in 1986, the Institute closed. The ideological continuity of this institution throughout the period after the War deserves more scrutiny.

[6] Armanen (Aryan + German) is a term identified with the Nazi era of racism and is now popular among neo-Nazi groups.

[7] These eugenic creeds led to the sterilization of the handicapped, first under cover before the Nazi era, then legalized under Hitler. It degenerated in 1939 into the Nazi "euthanasia" program, a little-known and appalling chapter of the regime's horrors.

[8] See Part Two of this article, forthcoming in a future issue of *Stammbaum*.

[9] Part Two notes that this pedigree was implemented only gradually, in order to put an end to the sudden rush of visitors researching their personal records in civil records and parish offices.

[10] Translation of the text in small font: "This ancestral passport has been approved by the *Reichsstelle für Sippenforschung* of the Ministry of the Interior (see Part Two) and recommended by several offices of the NSDAP for the needs of service. It is intended solely for persons of German blood. The civil recording offices will not certify inscriptions for half-breeds and individuals of foreign race."

[11] See sidebar, "Ideology and Genealogy," p. 7.

[12] Stephan Kekulé von Stradonitz (1861-1933), professor of Constitutional Law and board member of the genealogy society "Herold," published a paper in 1907 supporting eugenic theses. He stressed that recent discoveries in medical biology were a support to genealogy. Contemporary genealogists know him mainly for "his" ancestral numbering method, although the actual inventor of the system was the 17th century priest Jerome de Sosa.

[13] At the first meeting of the *Reichsverein für Sippenforschung und Wappenkunde* in 1933, it was suggested that all photographs of individuals taken before 1850 be collected. The idea was probably to look for faces, beards, clothing, etc. that suggest possible Jewish ancestry.

Schrimm: Memories from Our Youth

BY RABBI DOCTOR HERMANN SCHREIBER
TRANSLATED BY WERNER S. ZIMMT

This reflection on the once-vibrant Posen community of Schrimm was presented in Berlin on 6 March 1927 as a speech by Rabbi Schreiber on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Association of Former Residents of Schrimm. The description of the daily life of the Jews of Schrimm provides us with the context and fabric of our ancestors' existence in the 19th century. The words enchant us as we drift back to a more simple time in a Posen town, filled with characters that portray our Jewish grandparents, great-aunts, third cousins, family neighbors and hometown businessmen from somewhere in the annals of German-Jewish history. The text was translated from the German in 2002 by Werner S. Zimmt of Tucson, Arizona. This version is considerably condensed from the original text.

THERE IS NOT ONE WHO HAS PASSED HIS YOUTH IN OUR BELOVED SCHRIMM WHO DOES NOT treasure it in his soul. Unfortunately, this treasure is buried amid rubble and ashes, and often requires much effort to be uncovered.

If I may consider my own example as typical, it is during the High Holidays that these memories return most clearly and most vividly. During the many hours we spend on introspection during this time, the spell of these memories envelops us with irresistible force. Memories of events return, from whence and where we do not know, memories that seemed long forgotten, appearing as through a dense fog that is just lifting; we remember and see people whose path crossed ours, even though their remains have been long been covered by green turf.

Unfortunately, such descriptions of our former lives are few and far between in Jewish literature, and none exist about our hometown of Schrimm. No books, no writings of any kind, describe the lives and deeds of our ancestors in this lovely town on the banks of the river Warthe. Once the generations that came into being around 1900 have gone to their graves, no such descriptions will be possible. If no one decides to step forward to write such a description about Schrimm, no future generation will even know of its existence, no one will know that there once was this large, vibrant, respected community with hundreds of families, with its own traditions, and its own history. It is my purpose today to relate to you my story; those memories and impression of a youth who grew to manhood in Schrimm during the 1880s and 1890s. Hopefully, this will move others to do the same, to look back at their youth and relate it for future generations.

A small town, a few streets, lovely meadows and woods, a few hills; that is the picture in our memories and will always be evoked by the name Schrimm. Much of our early lives played itself out on these streets. Here we fought our first battles with our opponents, the pupils of the Polish school; here we played "knights and robbers" or 'ball and stick"; we promenaded and pranced in front of the windows of the houses in which the young girls lived. In the river we floated on the boats owned by Mattaeus Kahn; from the bath house on the banks of the river, we went swimming; the woods were the destinations for walks and picnic excursions with friends, both boys and girls.

The townspeople were Germans, Poles and Jews. That was the universal distinction: the Jew opposite the German on the one hand and opposite the Pole on the other. It mattered

not how much a Jew felt that he was German, acted as a German and spoke German, nor that his children spoke German and read German literature. It was of no avail; he was not considered German by any of the gentiles, and during a census, the Jew was placed in a separate category. It is no wonder then, that Jews were socially separated, and that there was very little contact between non-Jews and Jews. Even after some Jews were admitted to the song club and to the gun club, nothing really changed.

This separation started in the lower schools. Just as there was a Protestant school and a Catholic school, so there was a Jewish elementary school. It was located off the main street, in a quiet corner adjacent to the oldest, at that time already closed, cemetery. Here, in a small, humble building of two class rooms, two teachers presided, Mr. Falk and Mr. Neufeld. Mr. Falk came from southern Germany and was extremely pious; in his life there was piety and family and nothing else. Mr. Neufeld was much worldlier, welcoming life and the present, and consequently represented a much more liberal view of Judaism.

In my days the school was well attended, and if memory serves me correctly had well over 80 students in the 1880s. There are the Neufelds, the Selter-Neufelds, the Adams and the Breslauers, the Reismans and the Friedmanns, the Kunzs and Jaroczinskis, the Schreibers and the Mittwochs, the Fusses and the Landmanns and the Pelzs, and all the others.

Figure 1: Photograph of the Zimmt family taken in 1925 at the Baltic Sea resort of Heringsdorf. Top row: Grandmother Emma Englaender, widow of Abraham Zimmt; next row: Fanni Liepmannssohn, wife of Jacques Zimmt and Charlotte Boschwitz, wife of Hugo Zimmt; children's row: Werner Zimmt, Lillian Zimmt, daughter of Fanni and Jacques, and Gerhard Zimmt, twin brother to Werner; bottom row: Jacques Zimmt on left and cousin Hugo Zimmt, father of Werner and Gerhard, on right.

The two teachers mastered the art of juggling six simultaneous teaching sections. Of course, the student groups that were not in the immediate spotlight managed to get involved in enough mischief so that the rod was a major component of the instruction. However, it was during recess that pandemonium really broke loose. The favorite activity was the game of "buttons"; you must have been there to appreciate the enthusiasm and the intensity with which this game was played, using every type of button available. Each type had a different value, and the highest were those that had come from military uniforms. The game consisted of tossing the buttons against the wall, and trying to get one's own button as close as possible, when measured by spread fingers, to those already tossed; the closer they came, the higher the reward. The wealth of many students consisted of their button collections, and some were famous for having hundreds and hundreds of them.

Nevertheless, in spite of mischief, in spite of games, we learned much in that little two-room Jewish school, much that smoothed our way through life. Gratefully we remember our early school years and the men that guided us, and who, above all taught us so well to think, to work systematically, and to be considerate of others in our life.

A large fraction of us transferred to the boys' high school or higher girls' school after the initial three years. We worked hard, with mixed results, to master the courses and to graduate. It was here, in these buildings, that we really encountered the solid front of our resentful non-Jewish schoolmates. It would be criminal not to give credit to our teachers in these schools; with few exceptions they were fair and sympathetic, in contrast to our

schoolmates, who constantly tried to make, not always harmless, sport of the Jewish kids. Woe to the Jewish pupil who did not defend himself, did not understand that he had to assert himself, even against overwhelming odds; he lost all respect and had no support.

School was only a part of our lives. In the 1870s, according to the documents I have seen, well over a thousand Jews lived in Schrimm; when we were growing up, the number was still around 500. This was a community formed by memorable people. What an inspiring sight, when on Shabbat or holidays the community assembled, and the synagogue was filled to the last seat, both in the men's and women's sections. It pains the heart to compare today's sad situation with what was then and there. Tears filled my eyes when, on a visit a few months ago, a Miss Sachs showed me the almost totally abandoned building, and explained how difficult it is to collect the needed 10 men on the High Holidays. It is even more painful when we consider that during the height of Schrimm's florescence, the synagogue was not the only place where services were held; there was the Chevra Ner Tamid, that had its own prayer hall at Rot's on the Grosse Judenstrasse; there were other, smaller groups that had their own religious services, and most importantly, there was the Bet Hamidrash that also held services.

How can we ever forget the figures that led these prayers of the community? How will we ever forget Reb Mattes Futter, the great Talmud scholar who, in my earliest youth, was the master of the Bet Hamidrash, and who, though blind, would share with the attending men the depth of his knowledge, that allowed him to quote, from memory, any place in the Talmud by chapter, verse and page number? Also remembered from that time is the rabbi, Dr. Jacobsohn, one of the few men of his generation who is still living and would best be able to recall those days. His associates were also Talmud scholars; Mr. Latte and Mr. Friedeberger, my father of blessed memory, Mr. Jaffe and Mr. Louis Mittwoch, Mr. Falk and who knows who else; every evening they would meet at the Bet Hamidrash, sit in a corner at a long table, on narrow benches, and "learn." Yes, they were businessmen, but they had strong interests in intellectual matters, and would have considered any day in which they had not opened a book to read or "learn" a day wasted.

What spiritual striving drove these men; with what fervor and seriousness did they occupy themselves with spiritual matters! And just this striving was what kept them young and vigorous, kept them from being drowned by the harshness of life, by the needs of earning a living, to make a profit. It was this intellectual and spiritual activity that made them whole, that kept them whole, that widened their outlook and horizon, so that they were not confined to a narrowness of life, and suppressed by their daily struggles.

Not only the men were unusual; there were many also among the women, especially among those who had grown old in the town. Among the oldest was Mrs. Altmann, who lived in the rear building of the Rot's house in the Grosse Judenstrasse who kept busy tearing feathers. Hour after hour we would sit, together with her grandchildren, in her dark chamber, into which few rays of light ever strayed, and listen to the stories she told by the hundreds. She was a child when the great emperor Napoleon marched through Posen, but she remembered.

Then there was Aunt Nache, as she was generally called, actually Mrs. Lichtenberg was her real name, who lived in the house of Moritz Schreiber on the small market square opposite the house of Joseph Fuss, who always wore a deep bonnet as she sat at her window and watched everything that went on within her field of vision. Many of her innumerable utterances were absolute classics, but nothing can surpass one shortly before her death. She was a very sensitive woman, and had a special abhorrence of cold water. As she realized that her death was approaching she called her neighbor, Mrs. Grünberg to her house. This

lady was also the *Gabbate* [leader] of the Ladies Association, one of whose duties it was to perform the final holy rite—the purification ritual of washing the bodies of the women who had died—before their funerals. She said to her neighbor, "Grünberg, when the time comes, please use only lukewarm water!"

A few houses away, around the corner lived Mrs. Feigelchen Zimmt. She was renowned for her frugality; no maidservant for her. Rather, she would ask the young daughters of her friends to help with the housework. When, after the job was done, these young ladies took their leave, hoping for some reward, she would console them with the words: when the apples in the garden ripen I will see to it that you get a pear.

We have to ask what the roots of their uniqueness and their being were. I believe that if we want to understand and grasp the essence of the people of that period we will find that the roots were threefold: in their industriousness, in their frugality and simplicity, and above all in their deep, almost naive, piety and faith in God.

Industriousness! This was not the same as is experienced today, which demands a much more intensive and exhaustive endeavor than that of our fathers, requiring the complete utilization of each day and each hour to achieve all that is demanded, and that is driven by the whip of acquisition, to the point that we become slaves to our work. No, their industriousness was very different, less frantic, less nerve wracking, calmer and more contemplative. The days and hours which they spent at work were intense, with no pauses and no rest. Who doesn't recall all the grown men starting to load their carts in the early hours of the morning, even as early as midnight, in order to drive them to fairs in other towns. The return trip on the next evening, after the fair was closed went the same way. One left Schrimm cold, and one returned cold or exhausted, or both. No work was too heavy, no fair too distant, no road to difficult.

Pfennige (small coins) were important in our parents' lives; cash was always tight in Schrimm, and those who might have had more of it were, if anything, even more frugal. Today we have no conception of our parents' frugality. I remember the occasion when gas lighting was introduced on the streets of Schrimm. Oh, how we envied those fortunate neighbors whose rooms were lit by the street lamps; they could delay the lighting of the kerosene lamps to later in the evening, and with kerosene costing 22 Pfennig a liter, the savings could be substantial. For example, Leiser B. lived on the market square; one of his rooms was next to a street lamp, some evenings he did not have to use his oil lamps at all. Hand in hand with this unsurpassable frugality, that may have been even more than frugality, went an exemplary modesty and simplicity. One of the examples that impressed on me the frugality and modesty of our families was how children's birthdays were celebrated, both in my house and surely in most others. Our present was a piece of sugar at the breakfast table. Our younger generation may think that this was ridiculous, but I still relish the delight and pleasure that that one sugar cube offered me. Yet despite the frugality and simplicity, we never lacked the essentials. Food and clothing were, miraculously, always available. Even if one did not know from one day to the next where a meal would come from, one did not despair.

"God will help" was not idle talk but an unshakable conviction, a life force. This faith in God, seeming sometimes so naive that it could make one smile, could also express itself in an inspiring and triumphant form, that allowed them to persist in spite of the constant challenges and changes in their fate. However, this faith was also present when it led to the need for sacrifice and material losses.

As much as one valued the earning of a livelihood and was dependent on work, as much

as one liked to trade and bargain, no one was a slave to their business. Not one merchant would have considered opening his store on the Sabbath or on a holiday, no matter how poor they were and how much they needed to make a profit. When the Sabbath came all stores were shut. It was an inspiring sight when, Friday afternoons, every store was closed, every shutter lowered. Since more than half the stores on Warthe Street, from the bridge to the market square, were owned by Jews, it had exactly the feeling a Sabbath should.
If the weather was halfway decent, people would take their strolls, either right after the Sabbath services, or after a short afternoon snooze. On days like that one could expect to meet, with no exaggeration, the entire community; the men in their long black coats, often wearing top hats, the women dressed up in the latest fashions. Another sign that it was Shabbat was the sight of the servant girls of most Jewish households emerging from the bakeries of Schwarz and Eckman with heavy pots, in which the noon meal of their employers bubbled. Should I tell you how often they came home with the wrong pot, and then had to try to figure out where that belonged, and who had the one they should have brought?

No matter how strongly the Sabbath put its stamps on the exterior of the town, inside the houses other events were unfolding, since the totality of our ancestors' lives in Schrimm revolved around it. The cleaning and scrubbing was done on Thursday. Came Friday morning the ladies of the house, often shortly after the sun rose, would march to the market to buy whatever was needed for the Sabbath, and for many families the tradition demanded the man of the house go with her. His presence and judgment was required for the purchase of the fish. Then off to the baker, to pick up the sheet cake. This delicious Sabbath treat gave off the most heavenly aroma that permeated the whole house.
Friday lunch was skimpy, the better to save one's appetite for the evening meal. After lunch the children had to be scrubbed and dressed, and this was a far from simple matter, not because they were particularly dirty, or because there were no baths, but because there often were 10 to 12 of them. After all, just four families, the Adams, the Altmanns, the Brys and the Schreibers, had 28 daughters between them.

As soon as dusk came, it was off to *Schul*—some to the synagogue, some to the Bet Hamidrash, and others into the private prayer houses. At the synagogue Mr. Werblowsky officiated; he had been chanting the liturgy for almost 50 years with masterly competence. I can still hear him singing the *L'Cho Dodi* or the *Kiddush*. He was not a performer, as most cantors are today, but a real *Chasan* from the old tradition, who carried out his duties with dedication and dignity. After the *Kiddush* he would hand the cup to the *Shammes* Jakob with inimitable grace, who would then allow various boys, previously designated by the *Chasan*, to take a sip.

But how different were the proceedings in the Bet Hamidrash; here were no employees, here the members performed all of the needed duties. If, for instance, Mr. Jakob Schwersenz had chanted *Mincha*, Mr. Latte or Mr. Jaffe, Mr. Blick or my father would take over for the Sabbath service. This went on through the whole year, every Sabbath and every holiday; the entire service, and all related functions, were performed by the men themselves. How proud they were of their activities, for which they received no compensation except the satisfaction of being able to do them, and being permitted to do them. Their reward was a handshake and a *Yashar Koach*, the words of approval to their fellow worshippers.

Once the service was over, we returned to the house, where the Sabbath candles lit up the rooms with an indescribable radiance, to sit down to the rich Sabbath meal, that had to include the fish, and one that made up for all of the sacrifices and efforts of the sparse

Friday midday meal.

During the winter months, when Sabbath in Schrimm started at 3:30, the interval between services and dinner was used to study and discuss the weekly chapter; after dinner one carried on spirited conversations about recent events with friends and family. The children would consume huge quantities of *Krillerbsen* [a form of peas], and we found that we could use them for games. We had wonderful times. One of the games was called "odd or even." One player would take a few peas into his closed hand and the other had to guess if the number was odd or even; if the player guessed right, he got the peas; if he guessed wrong he had to pay a penalty equal to the number of peas in play. Even after the peas had passed through many hands, they tasted just great. Another game was even more loved. One player would build a small pile of peas like the roof of a house, and the other player had to bombard it, one pea at a time, from the other side of the table. If his pea collapsed the pile, he would retain his pea and be rewarded with the pile; if he failed the builder retained the missile. For many families, *Krillerbsen* were an indispensable part of Friday evenings.

The Sabbath itself followed a routine much like the evening before: prayer, rest and food. This triad made the day harmonious, and once the sun started to sink the pious ate their third Sabbath meal, called the *Shalosh Seudah*. Then all returned to the synagogue to take leave of the Sabbath, to hear Cantor Werblowski chant the fresh and cheerful tune of *L'David baruch* [Psalm 144] in the dark hall. Of course, this was always engulfed in arguments about the exact time, and woe, if the rabbi's clock was one minute faster than that of Mr. Leiser Bry or any of the other congregational chieftains. The arguments about this minute would be carried on in or in front of the synagogue, as if it was the most important topic, more important than most fundamental questions of human experience. On returning home we would celebrate *Havdalah*. The children were allowed a taste from the brandy glass over which the blessings had been made. Then a few drops of alcohol were poured onto a plate and when the *Havdalah* candle was rolled in it, this would light up with a short-lived blue flame, sputtering and hissing as it went out. The man of the house would then dip both of his little fingers into the liquid, pat his eyelids with them, and wish every one "a good week, a healthy week and a full week."

Just as the Sabbath crowned the week and left its imprint on it, so the holidays accompanied and affected every month of the year. Each had its own customs, its own traditions, and its own foods. These foods, however, had their own rich diversity, from the *Hamantaschen* at Purim, the *Bobechen* at Shavuot to the slight alcohol buzz that even the most pious allowed themselves at Simchat Torah.

Thus passed the days and weeks, and before we became aware of it, we were preparing for Hanukah. While it may not have been an important holiday, it was an important festival. As long as the candles were burning, no one was allowed to work. Even the most pious and serious fathers would cease their studies on these occasions. Instead, after returning from the bitterly cold synagogue, where we were rubbing our hands together while singing *Maoz Tzur*, or the better heated Bet Hamidrash, they would play games with the children, lovely, entertaining games, that involved money. Didn't we all get cash, usually nine new, shiny copper pennies? We played card games, with fathers who never touched a card otherwise, or we had lotteries or played with *dreddels* [spinning tops]. The children's faces reflected the results of the games; those who had lost most or all of their Hanukah cash would try mightily to hold back their tears. But there was the slight consolation that one might be able to regain some of the losses the next evening. After all, one needed the coins to be able to buy things, such as lollypops at a penny a piece at Schwersenz on the market, or bock

sugar or licorice for two pennies by Heppner's, or carob by Leopold Becher, or even a five cent bar of chocolate at Adams.

As winter was coming to an end, we could look forward to Purim and the excitement that came with it. On the day before, which was the fast day of Esther, all the delicious Purim dishes were being prepared. An especially important role was played by the *Naute*, a confection made from honey, poppy seeds, nuts, and pepper. On the eve of Purim the *Megillat Esther* would be read at the various houses of prayer. Since the unheated synagogue was too cold for most of the women, an extra *Megillah* reading would be held in my parents' house; as many as 20 ladies would show up. My father would read for them and then people would remain and chat over tea for another couple of hours.

Next morning, people would attend the early services. Once we returned home, fresh cake was waiting, just fetched from the baker's oven, and then we would deliver Purim presents, the *Shalach Manos*. After taking care of the poor of the town, all relatives and friends were sent or given a package with food, mostly cake, fruit or alcoholic beverages. At the same time we would be visited by others, who were delivering their gifts. It was a lively coming and going of visitors, receiving and sending as many as eight or nine or more such messengers. Sometimes it would happen, and be cause for astonishment and merriment, that a package sent to one relative came back, unopened, from a totally different source. The little package had gone from house to house returned to its original home, having faithfully fulfilled its mission as *Shalach Manos*.

The noon meal, at which the *Hamantaschen* had to be present, was taken early, and the Purim meal, the *Shalosh Seudah*, had to be started before sun-down. For this meal the rooms were brightly lit; even the five-armed rarely used candelabrum was on the table to light up the room. The meal consisted of a whole collection of delicious foods, and joy above all, even we children were allowed to select and eat that which we liked. During meal time masked players, dressed in the most outlandish costumes, went from house to house, occasionally performed short burlesque skits, but generally remained silent, so as not to reveal who they were. They used pantomime to express their demands, which were mostly for presents and food. We, as children, desired nothing more than to be allowed to join these minstrels.

As soon as Purim was over preparations began for Pesach. It was important at that time to prepare red beet soup, and then pickle it in an extra clean tub to make borscht. Slowly, the preparation for making *matzo* was begun. Every family needed to have the bakeries bake their *matzo*, and the children were allowed to participate. That important business was carried out at the bakeries of Schwarz, as well as those of Eckmann and Kunz. The children were allowed to make the holes in the dough with pattern tracing wheels and they were allowed to pass the *matzo* to the baker's apprentice, doing this with unbelievable enthusiasm.

One activity does need special mention; the selection of the water. This was the most important part of the making of *matzo*, so it was only done by our fathers. The water had to be stored for at least one night in a container. One had to experience this ritual to really appreciate it. These stern, serious men waited their turn to fill their pails by the pump that stood in front of the Schwersenz house on the market square. They then took these pails to a cool room in the Dienstag house in the Judenstrasse, where it was left overnight. Next morning it would be picked up, and only then, because it was at the proper temperature, could the water be used in making of the *matzo* dough.

The day before the *Seder* our fathers, assisted by their sons, would comb the house by candle light to find and collect every last crumb of bread. These crumbs (*chometz*) were put into a paper bag made from a newspaper, into which a tin spoon and some goose feathers

had been placed. Once everything had been searched, the bag was tightly closed and put on the top of an armoire, to be burned the next morning. The burning was done at a site near the *Mikveh*, the communal ritual bathhouse. A hole was dug lined by some bricks and a wood fire lit. Once the fire was burning properly the bags with the crumbs were thrown in, and the auto-da-fé of the *chometz* was quickly over.

After this, no leavened material was allowed into the house. However, people had leavened supplies that they didn't want to destroy; these would be locked into an armoire, and sold to a non-Jewish neighbor, to be bought back after the holiday. These transactions were made with ironclad, legal documents, which specified a price of five or ten Mark, and were considered binding. Generally, my parents dealt with Mr. Manke, the bookbinder. I remember one occasion when something unusual happened. The Mankes had some unexpected visitors, but nothing in the house to serve them. Then they had a bright idea; had they not bought this whole cabinet full of delicacies from us, and, had they not the keys? So, off they went, and helped themselves to what they needed. The contract had been signed, the money had been paid, thus it was all perfectly legal. In fact, this occasion was made known throughout the town as proof that these transactions were real, and not a sham. Finally, the last act of the preparations—all of us children were sent out into the street to turn every pocket inside out and remove all crumbs that might have been caught in them.

I won't go into details about how the *Seder* on Pesach evening was celebrated in our hometown; it wasn't much different from what is done most places. I do want to describe one event to illustrate the pious fervor with which all questions concerning this festival were treated. It occurred during one *Seder* evening in the 90s. We were sitting at the table when a very excited Mr. Gerson Schwersenz entered with the Rabbi of the congregation, Dr. Bamberger. Something terrible had happened. They had been eating a goose at the Schwersenz house when a single grain of wheat or rye was found, apparently missed by the housewife while preparing the bird. These two men together with my father spent almost the rest of the night discussing whether the entire set of Passover dishes and all the food in the house were now contaminated and if they needed to be disposed. Or, could some means be found to avoid this drastic action. Fortunately, a way was found to remedy the damage; and I remember clearly, for the next few days this event was hotly discussed in the entire town. But all were certain of one thing, had the decision gone the other way, the Schwersenz family, even though they had very limited means, would have done what the rabbi demanded, without a murmur.

Anyone who was even one time in our synagogue for Yom Kippur will never be able to forget this scene; the entire congregation assembled for the Kol Nidre, the men all enveloped in their smocks, the women upstairs behind the wooden lattice, the two oldest and most respected members, their smocks pulled over their heads, standing together with the cantor, who, for many years, was my father, all three reciting the initial formula in a low voice. A shudder of holiness and piety, from which even the most rebellious youths could not escape, ran through the assembled worshippers. Likewise, who will ever forget the Ne'ilah service and the enthusiastic voice with which the chanter, in my early youth Rabbi Dr. Jacobsohn and later Mr. Latte, with his magnificent voice, sang the final Kaddish; we all felt its meaning: this fateful day is coming to a close, and we have succeeded in overcoming all that is bad and unworthy.

Once Yom Kippur was over the preparations for *Succoth* began. In our house it was the custom to start the assembly of the decorations as soon as the fasting was ended. It will seem like a fairy tale to the younger people if I tell you that in my early youth, at the start of the 1880s, there were as many as fifty *Succoth* in Schrimm, and many of these were

shared by several families. In addition, there was a stately community *Succah* on the empty lot next to the synagogue for those who could not have their own but wanted to fulfill their ritual needs.

The families' *Succoth* were mostly in the courtyards of the houses, but the aged Mr. Friedberg had one inside the house. This was possible because he had a room with a retractable roof. Some courtyards, like ours, were so small that it seemed doubtful that a *Succah* could be erected within its confines. But it always was. Every family took pride in decorating it structure as imaginatively as possible; after all, in those days in Schrimm, most people not only ate in it, but lived in it all day, and some even slept in theirs, in spite of the often very chilly nights. Decorations consisted mainly of chains of chestnuts, which the children had collected assiduously ahead of time, chains of colored paper, paper lanterns, some in the shape of a Mogen David, gilded nuts and other fruits, which were hung from the roof on thin threads. A special item was a bird made from a carefully emptied, painted eggshell, to which paper wings had been glued to make wings, and with a rosehip as its head. Colored cloth and rugs covered the walls. Pine boughs covered the tables and served as a roof, and when we sat in these lovely rooms, the blue sky coming through the pines during the day, or by candle light at night with the stars visible in the sky, it conferred a romantic and unique atmosphere to the entire week.

A very similar competition involved the purchase of the four types of plants required for the festival; here the question was who had the nicest ones. This was judged in the synagogue, or the Beth Hamidrash, when the owners exhibited them during the procession around the Almemor [Bimah or Pulpit]. One can judge the size of the community from the fact that at least 40 men in the synagogue and 15 in the Beth Hamidrash were in these processions, and these four fruits cost between 10 and 15 Mark. There were some decidedly rich members in the community, but these were not the only ones to have the four plants, so one can understand the sacrifices that were made for their beliefs by these men who often were not blessed with an overabundance of worldly goods. Our family had an Esrog each year, but because it would have been too great an expense to bear alone, so after we had finished with it on each day of the festival, the children would take it to all the other aunts and uncles who had participated in the cost of its purchase. For us children there was an auxiliary benefit; wherever we went, we were offered wonderful cookies, and even if the Polish children would hassle us as we went from house to house with these strange plants and the silver Esrog box, who cared? These cookies were worth it.

Then, once more the entire congregation assembled in reverent prayer near the end of the festival on *Hoshanoh Rabbah*. In the popular mind this is a slightly less-awesome Yom Kippur, a day on which, according folk lore, the final decisions are made in heaven about our fates for the coming year, who shall live, who shall die, who shall prosper, and who fall by the way. Thus, the houses of prayer were again filled with congregants, filled to the last seat; no one stayed away, and all carried the *Shanoh* [apparently a name for a bundle of branches] in their hand, prepared the day before from three willow branches and vigorously beat these against the floor to strip them of their leaves, a ceremony that made the most terrible noise. It mattered not that the rabbi would repeatedly admonish everyone that the leaves did not have to be removed, that gentle contact with the floor was sufficient; the congregants, and especially the young people, took advantage of the opportunity to cause the most earsplitting noise in the synagogue.

Of course, it was no less noisy on the last day of the festival, Simchat Torah. The previous evening all the children, boys and girls came to the synagogue with small flags.

On the top was placed an apple or a lemon into which many cobbler's pegs had been stuck, and at the top of the fruit a hole had been made to hold a candle that was only lit in the synagogue. At the end of the Ma'ariv service all Torah rolls were removed from the Holy Ark and distributed among the men of the congregation; I don't remember exactly how many rolls there were, but 25 to 30 is a reasonable estimate. This large number of Torah rolls was then carried repeatedly around the Almemor in a stately procession led by Mr. Werblowski and the rabbi, while the prescribed prayers and texts were chanted. After that, all of the children, even the smallest, who had learned the proper blessings, were called to the Torah.

Some of the boys would race back and forth between the synagogue and the Bet Hamidrash to garner an extra call [to the Torah]. These ceremonies were anything but somber in Schrimm; even the normally staid rabbi, Dr. Jacobsohn, did not walk in his usual dignified manner while carrying the scroll, but danced and swayed gently along. Many other acts that we would not consider proper for a synagogue took place. Nut shells were put into the slot behind the seats, so when someone sat down these would splinter and break with a loud crack. Nuts and other missiles were thrown around, especially at the top hats many men wore, raisins, almonds and hard candies were thrown by the handful to the children and also given to them. In short, it was an unbelievable scene of merriment and exuberance that affected everyone.

This unusual behavior carried over to the next day, which was the actual holiday. In the prayer houses the last chapter of the Torah was read, followed by the first chapter. Whoever had the honor of reading this first chapter, called Chason B'reishees, would invite friends, acquaintances, and relatives to his house for a small celebration.

My dear countrymen, it is time for me to conclude this talk. I have tried to present to you a picture of what it was like in our home town, Schrimm, where many of us went to school, a condensed version of what life was like in those days. And if you find that I have omitted this or that from this picture, one thing we can agree on: our parents and grandparents in the isolation of a small town lived a totally different existence than we do today. It was quieter, more leisurely, more contemplative. That generation had an inner peace, a belief in their way of life that satisfied their yearnings, and they had the confidence of their faith. Their world may have been narrow and limited, but within its limits they filled it with beauty and poetry, derived principally from their religion. Their days, and even more significantly, their evenings were not filled, as are ours, with pleasures based on entertainment and diversions. And yet, they knew neither boredom nor weariness. Every day and every hour had its own life, its own routine, its own destiny, and those words we hear so often: "I have to find myself" or "I need a change of scenery" would have been incomprehensible to them. They needed no diversion, which can be so destructive of the soul and the spirit, which often injures that which makes men human. It is this inner strength of spirit and soul that we most often see in the people of these small towns, and that characterizes an epoch that is no more. And this observation brings me to my final and decisive question: are we, who live today in this modern world, with all its advantages and miracles, any happier than the people of that time, than our mothers and fathers were in their days? It is not my purpose to provide an answer; it is not a question that has a single or definitive answer, but it does require that one can agree on a definition of that universally desired and rarely achieved concept: Happiness.

My Father's Three Lives

BY WERNER L. FRANK

I GREW UP WITH THE STORY THAT MY FATHER WAS BORN TWICE. This tale always amazed me and led to the often repeated story of how his birth was celebrated two times, once in 1895 and the second in 1918, twenty-three years later. I recall being told that a communiqué from the German military pronounced my father killed-in-action on a battlefield in France during World War I. Subsequently, his parents were informed that he was actually alive but severely wounded. He came home to recuperate and the family welcomed him back with a second birth party.

My childhood curiosity caused me to further explore what happened to my father during the war, what battle took place and how he was wounded. In response, I recall my father pointing to the front, left side of his neck which showed a slight scar, and then tracing with his hand a trajectory to the back of his upper torso. He simply said, "The bullet went through my lungs and came out the back." On one such occasion he actually removed his undershirt and showed me the exit scar on his back. I asked him if he had had any lingering side effects, to which he replied that he had none.

That was as far as I ever took the matter. I had concluded that since he was serving in the German army in France as a *Frontsoldat* (soldier at the frontline of battle), he must have been shot by some Frenchman. My level of interest at the time was satisfied; I failed to elicit more details and facts about this milestone event.

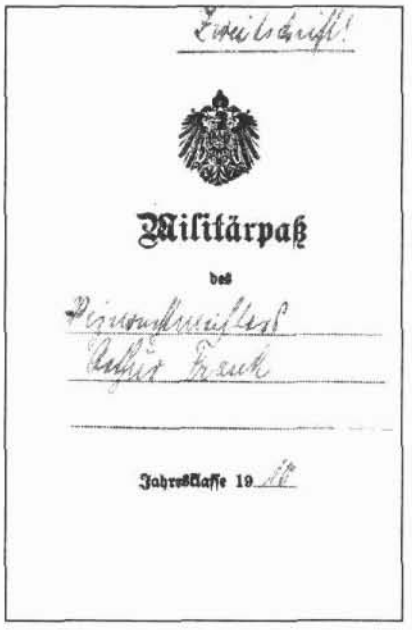
Years later, after undertaking serious research of my family's history and genealogy, I was disappointed that I had not probed further regarding my father's wartime experience. It was too late to address needed questions to my father. He passed away in 1981. How could I now piece together a significant history that had eluded me?

The pages of former issues of *Stammbaum* were one source of information on the subject of Jewish participation in the armies fielded by Germany. Claus W. Hirsch has delved into this matter in two articles, one related to the Prussian wars of 1813-1815[1] and the second describing Jewish soldiers' participation in World War I.[2] Other articles have appeared as well.[3] Bibliographies accompany these articles and provide further insight to the loyalty and service given by Jewish young men to their Fatherland. However, this type of information does not get down to the specifics of the individual's life and his performance

in the military.[4] I wanted to know specifically what my father had sacrificed and given to his country.

Luck was with me. In a collection of family memorabilia, my father had actually retained his *Militärpaß*, a personal identification booklet containing his service record, as well as a number of service related photographs. The journal accounted for my father's front-line duty in the form of a soldier's personal diary. It also contained vital information regarding his induction, training, promotions, awards and duties. Fortunately, this extraordinary notebook and the accompanying photos survived our family's upheaval and immigration to the U.S.A. in 1937 and are still in my possession (Figure 1).
My father was *Vizewachtmeister* (Master Sergeant) Arthur Frank, a volunteer (*Kriegsfreiwilliger*) who joined the Kaiser's army on 30 December 1914, one month before his 20th birthday. He was initially assigned to the II Ersatz-Abteilung, 5th Baden Field Artillery, 76th Regiment, with headquarters at Freiburg. On 25 April 1915 he was transferred to the 6th Battery of the 76th Regiment and remained there until the end of the war.

A noteworthy member of the 76th Regiment was an officer who became a notorious underground "freedom" fighter after the war. This was Albert Leo Schlageter, a comrade-in-arms of my father (Figure 2). Schlageter terrorized the French occupation of the Ruhr


Militärpaß

des

Jahresklasse 19

Figure 1 (right): Cover of Militärpaß *of Arthur Frank; Figure 2 (left): Comrades of the 76th Regiment: Schlageter rear, second from left; Frank rear, second from right.*

in the early 1920s. He was ultimately captured after detonating a bridge near Calcum in March 1923. Subsequently, he was tried by the French, found guilty of sabotage, and faced a firing squad. He died in May 1923, becoming a national martyr, revered by the Nazis, whom he had actually joined in 1922, carrying the early membership number 61.

Some of Schlageter's notoriety rubbed off on my father. Accordingly, there were gentiles in my father's hometown of Eppingen who doubted that the reach of the Nazis could ever extend to a Jew who was a field comrade of Schlageter. Little did they realize that no Jew could escape the wrath and hate of the Nazis.

The listings of skirmishes and battles for my father's unit are shown in Figure 3. They begin in the period 9-10 August 1914 at Senheim-Mülhausen, extending over the next four years to Lothringen, Nancy-Epinal, Flirey, Arras, Lille, French Flanders, Cuinchy,

Auchy-lez-La Bassée, Champagne, Somme, Bapaume, Scarpe, etc. It is not clear if my father was involved in all of these encounters. However, we do know with certainty that he fought in the battle at Bapaume from 21 August to 2 September 1918 and at the Siegfried line from 3 to 27 September 1918.

On 27 September, at 12:30 P.M., in a firing position 1 kilometer east of Bourlon, my father received a severe neck and chest injury. A bullet found its mark, entering the front of my father's throat, and passed through his lungs before exiting from his back. He fell to the ground at a moment when the Allied forces were advancing to take control of the battlefield. The retreating German forces left my father for dead. According to family lore, his body lay immobile, seemingly without breath, and his comrades assumed he was dead.

Somewhat later, the German forces went on the offensive and recaptured the territory. A soldier stumbled over my father's body and discovered that he was still alive. The medics immediately tended to him and he was revived. He was then transferred to Field Hospital number 24 and, on 4 October 1918, was transported by hospital train number 28 to St. Anna Lyceum Hospital in Elberfeld, where he recovered.

With such detailed information, I next wanted to pursue collateral records of my father by contacting appropriate contemporary German authorities that might be able to shed further light on his military service. The logical place of contact was the *Bundesarchiv* (the National Archive of Germany) at WWW.BUNDESARCHIV.DE. Here I discovered that there were several archival components, one of which was the Military Archive located in Freiburg with its own website at WWW.BUNDESARCHIV.DE/AUFGABEN_ORGANISATION/ABTEILUNGEN/MA/INDEX.HTML. Upon addressing my interest by email (MILITAERARCHIV@BARCH.BUND.DE), I received a prompt reply indicating to their sorrow that all records of individual soldiers of World War I were destroyed by Allied bombing of the *Heeresarchiv* in Potsdam in 1945. I turned to the Internet.

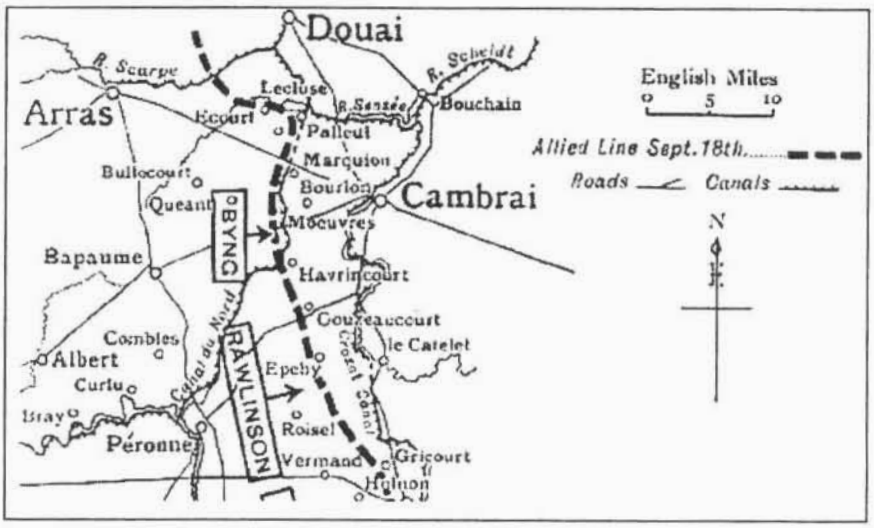
I had always assumed that my father had been a casualty of the French forces. My understanding of the circumstances of his field injury on that crucial September date in 1918 was substantially clarified when I investigated relevant websites on the Internet while I was researching the completion of a book on the history of my family.[5] I was astounded to find so much detail regarding the progression of World War I battles, their location and time. Simply entering "Bourlon 1918" into the Google search engine provided me with rich details concerning the very events of the time and place my father had been shot.

The wonders of the Internet for contemporary researchers became apparent. One website suggested that it was Canadian troops who were responsible for my father's injuries by offering the following account:[6]

> It was found that the Bosche [sic] had taken up a defensive line on the eastern side of the Canal du Nord and so we were compelled to establish our line on the western bank, as all bridges over the canal had been destroyed....On the night of the 25th [September, 1918] a move forward was made to the concentration area around Bullocourt, where the Battalion was scattered over the old battlefield in shell holes, dugouts, etc. The Battalion moved forward to their assembly area in the old Hindenburg line just west of Inchy en Artois....The 11th Brigade had been given the task of capturing Bourlon Wood after the 10th Brigade had got across the canal, and at zero hour, 5:20 A.M. on the 27th of September, commenced to move forward, the 102nd Battalion leading, followed by the

Kommandobehörde, welche Zusätze einträgt. | Datum | Zusätze (Übungen und | zu den Personalnotizen. Einberufungen, Führung, Strafen usw.)

6. Gebirgs Flakartillerie Regiment 1876. | 27.12.1918



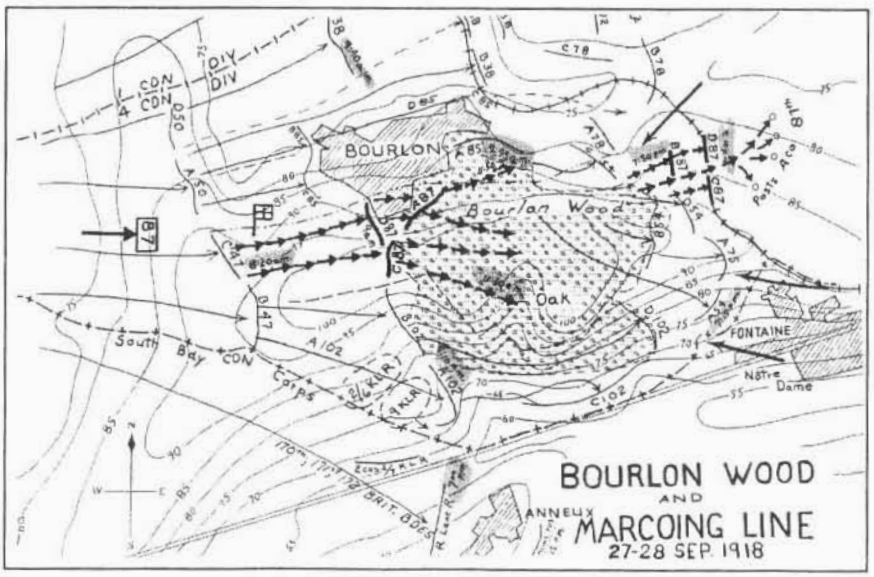


Figure 3 (top): Military history of Arthur Frank (from pages of the Militärpaß*); Figure 4 (middle): Military disposition on 18 September 1918 near Cambrai. (Map from book cited in endnote 7); Figure 5 (bottom): 4th Division attack on Bourlon, 27-28 September 1918. (Map from book cited in endnote 7).*

87th, 54th and 75th Battalions.

The task of this Battalion [the 54th] was to get around the north side of Bourlon Wood and capture the northern and eastern portion of the wood....Bourlon Wood was on high commanding ground and it was vital that this ground should be in our hands before the 3rd Army commenced their attack. Accordingly it was arranged that the 54th Battalion, on capturing the eastern side of the wood, was to send up a star rocket to signify that this high ground was taken.

The Canal du Nord was crossed without casualties and the Battalion jumped off without delay, and after stiff fighting managed to establish themselves on the eastern side of the wood, sending up the signal that the wood was captured.

By other accounts, 27 September 1918 was a pivotal day that turned the tide of the war in favor of the Allies who broke through the Hindenburg (a.k.a. Siegfried) Line and subsequently took Cambrai.[7] These battles precipitated the end of the war on 11 November 1918.

The map of Figure 4 shows the location of Bapaume, Bourlon and Cambrai. A detailed map of the 4th Division's attack on Bourlon is shown in Figure 5, including the advancing 87th Battalion positions varying from 8:20 A.M. to 7:30 P.M. on that fateful September day. My father must have been shot in the woods, perhaps just north of where the word "Oak" appears on the map.

My father's apparent fate caused a needless shock to his family. Immediately after the regiment's retreat from the battlefield where my father had been shot, his well-meaning battery commander, in his zeal to inform families of battlefield victims, wrote the following letter of condolence to my grandfather (Figure 6, original letter in German):

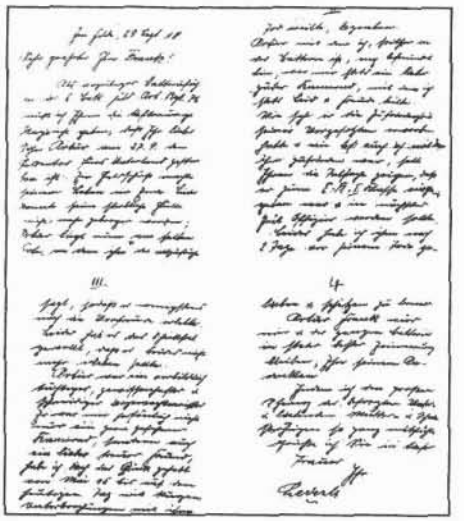
In the battlefield, Sept. 29, 1918

Dear Mr. Frank, [addressed to Julius Frank, father of Arthur Frank]

As the current Battery Commander of the 6th Field Battery, 76th Regiment, I must, with deepest sadness, inform you of the news that your dear son Arthur died a hero's death for the Fatherland on Sep[tember] 27. A shot in the neck was the cause of death. Unfortunately, it was not possible to retrieve his mortal remains, and so Arthur lies buried in the same town in which his early death came about.

Since his time in the Battery, Arthur and I have been close friends, and he was a likeable, good comrade with whom I shared both sorrow and joy. His commanders all were satisfied with his performance as was I, which should be clear from the fact that he had been recommended for the *E.K. I Klasse*[8] and would have become an officer on the next occasion. I discussed both of these matters with him two days before his death, so at least he was still able to enjoy these prospects. Unfortunately, fate would have it that he would not live to achieve either.

Arthur was a model, capable, conscientious and energetic *Vizewachmeister*. To me he was not only a well-thought-of comrade, but he also was a dear and trustworthy friend. I had the good fortune to have been together with him since



May 15, except for short breaks, during which time I learned to like and respect him.

Arthur Frank will forever be remembered by myself and the entire Battery, honoring his memory.

Since I share the great sorrow with the caring father, the beloved mother, and the rest of the family, I send you my deepest sympathy.

Yours,
[Signed] Eberle
Art. F. R. und Batterieführer

My family in Eppingen was devastated by this news, grieving in deep sorrow. What terrible pain Julius and his wife Sophie Frank must have felt, realizing that the war was rapidly coming to an end and their son was never to return home again. Fortunately, they were soon informed of the grave error and that Arthur, my father, was recovering in a field hospital.

The Frank family held a happy "second birth" party upon the return of their son to Eppingen.

The loyalty to Germany shown by young Jewish men on the battlefields of World War I did not grant them any special consideration from the Nazis some fifteen years later. At first, as the Nazis undertook their mounting program of hate against Jews, it was thought that those who had served and shed their blood for the Fatherland would be respected. Indeed, some were actually singled out for so-called "special handling" by being sent to the concentration camp at Theresienstadt.[9] In the end, of course, all Jews were given equal treatment with respect to the "final solution." No matter what their contribution to German society may have been, Jews were despised, disenfranchised and ultimately destined to the death camps.

Fortunately, my father had the wisdom to save our family by our relatively early immigration to the U.S.A. in 1937. Perhaps this warrants my father with yet another rebirth: the miracle of survival from the tyranny of the Holocaust and the gift of a third life.

NOTES

[1] Hirsch, Claus W., "Jewish Soldiers in the Prussian Liberation Wars, 1813-1815," *Stammbaum* 3, Summer 1993.

[2] Hirsch, Claus W., "German-Jewish Soldiers in World War I", *Stammbaum* 10, Dec. 1996.

[3] Mautner, Herb, "Jewish Members of the German Airforce during WWI," *Stammbaum* 11, June 1997.

Davidson Baird, Carol, "World War I German Cemeteries in France," *Stammbaum* 14, December 1998.

Schmidl, Erwin A., "Jewish Soldiers in the Austrian Armed Forces," *Stammbaum* 19, Summer 2001.

[4] An exception is the book *Gefallene Deutsche Juden, Frontbriefe 1914-1918* [Fallen Jewish Soldiers, Letters from the Front, 1914-1918], published by Reichsbund Jüdischer Frontsoldaten, Vortrupp Verlag, Berlin, second edition 1935. Here at least one is able to discern the individual feelings of the soldier at the front.

[5] Frank, Werner L., *Legacy: The Saga of a German-Jewish Family Across Time and Circumstance*, Avotaynu Foundation Inc., Bergenfield, NJ, 2003.

[6] Diary of the 54th Battalion, Canadian forces of the 3rd Army, at the website: HTTP://MEMBERS.TRIPOD.COM/APOLLON_2/WARPAGES/OPS1918_3HTM.

[7] The detailed Order of Battle of the Canadian forces at Bourlon is described in the series *For King & Empire, Volume 6: The Canadians at Cambrai and the Canal du Nord, September-October 1918*, authored by Norm M. Christie and published by CEF Books of Ottawa, Canada, in 1997.

[8] Iron Cross, First Class.

[9] Theresienstadt was a unique concentration camp, established by the Nazis to incarcerate, among others, noted Jews and war veterans. In truth, it was more of a holding pen for individuals who were ultimately transported to the death camps.

Figure 6: Condolence letter from Battery Commander

Henry Bergmann and Aliwal North: A Tragic Tale

BY ADAM YAMEY

MY LATE MOTHER WAS A DESCENDANT OF TWO OF THE FIVE CHILDREN OF JAKOB SELIGMANN (1775-1843) of Ichenhausen, in Bavaria. Quite a few of his descendants left Germany to make their fortunes in South Africa, including my mother's father, Iwan Bloch, and her maternal grandmother, Hedwig Rieser. On a family tree[1] that I possess there is an entry for Heinrich Bergmann that reads: "*Gest. Aliwal-North, Süd Afrika. Verheiratet aber kinderlos*" [Died Aliwal North, South Africa. Married but childless]. No dates are given for this man, who was a son of my great-great-grandaunt Klara Seligmann. She married Lazarus Bergmann. It is probable that they both died in Ichenhausen. Heinrich was my mother's first cousin, twice removed. My interest in Heinrich is the belief that he was one of the earliest of the descendants of Jakob Seligmann to go to South Africa. He is the subject of this article.

Sir Harry Smith, then Governor of the Cape Colony, formally founded the small town of Aliwal North in the Cape Province of South Africa in 1850. He named the town Aliwal North[2] in memory of his victory over the Sikhs at the Battle of Aliwal during the First Sikh War in India in 1846. The park in the center of Aliwal North, the Juana Square Gardens, was named after Smith's wife Juana Maria de Los Dolores de Leon.[3] One of the first white settlers in the area, Pieter Jacobus De Wet built a house at nearby Buffelsvlei in about 1828. The settlement of the area and its development into a town probably is in no little way connected to the presence of good water, thermal springs and a good fording place ('drift') across the Orange River, just below its confluence with the Kraai River. The town was laid out in 1849 on ground acquired by the government. This was auctioned and 38 lots were sold for £972. The auctioneers were the Jewish firm, Mosenthal Brothers.[4]

There were two waves of Jewish settlement in Aliwal North.[5] The first, which is the concern of this article, began in the 1840s. The second began in 1901. This latter commenced with the arrival of Mr. S. Becker and his son Moses as well as the Cohen family. When the Jews arrived in the town at the beginning of the twentieth century, they applied to the municipality in order to obtain a piece of ground for burial purposes. They were surprised to learn that there was already a Jewish Cemetery in existence, and had been since 1860, if not earlier. When these later settlers inspected the cemetery they found evidence of a Jewish community in Aliwal North many years before their arrival. They

were unable to ascertain the fate of these Jews. They had simply disappeared. A notable exception was Benjamin Levy, who was Mayor in 1882, and his brother Joseph who was also Mayor (in 1889, and later during the Anglo-Boer War[6]). The subject of this article concerns one of the earliest Jewish inhabitants of Aliwal North; he died in the town but for reasons that will become clear, his grave was not amongst those found in the Jewish Cemetery. His name was Henry Bergman. Or, was he Bergmann?

According to Saron and Hotz in their book,[7] there was an early settler in Aliwal North: "...one Bergman, a German Jew, 'a very great friend of the De Wet family, associated with all their earliest experiences and troubles, and who was eventually buried on their farm in 1865.'"[8] This reference looked interesting to me. I looked at the online catalogue[9] of the National Archives of South Africa, and found a reference[10] to the collection of the Genealogical Society of South Africa. It referred to the gravestone of "Bergman, H." with a remark, "De Wet Family Cemetery, Aliwal North, Cape." I sent an air letter to the Aliwal North Museum and was pleased to receive a reply from its curator. She sent me a very clear photograph of this gravestone, which still stands in the De Wet Family Cemetery [Figure 1, previous page]. The inscription on it is in English: "*Sacred to the memory of my dearly beloved husband Henry Bergmann who departed this life July 15th 1866. O God take him unto Thee.*" The stone gives Henry two 'n's in his surname, as it is written on my family tree. This is undoubtedly the grave of the Bergman in the quotation above and in the record from the Archives. How did he end up in the De Wet's private cemetery?[11]

The curator of the museum also provided the answer to this. Her translation, from the Afrikaans, of a passage from Du Plooy's book[12] on the history of Aliwal North follows:

> Financial establishments were confined to the Bank of South Africa, Standard Bank and Frontier Bank....The Frontier Bank was a branch of Mosenthal Brothers and was managed by one of its Directors, Mr. Henry Bergman. Unfortunately, Bergman embezzled some of the Bank's money and committed suicide. The community was deeply shocked. No one wanted to bury him until two of his friends, Koos and David De Wet,[13] came from their farms and buried him in the De Wet cemetery. Because Bergman was a Jew they only read out of the Old Testament...

J.G.F. Kruger corroborates this story: "The Standard Bank closed its branch in the town in 1865, leaving the town to the mercies of the Frontier Bank, in which Mosenthal's were interested. A robbery of its funds in 1866 led to the suicide of its director and the bankruptcy of the bank."[14] Interesting as all of this is, it still does not establish whether 'my' Heinrich Bergmann was the Henry Bergman who committed suicide in Aliwal North in 1866.

Last year I met a distant cousin from New Zealand, a descendant of Lazarus Bergmann (Heinrich's father).[15] He allowed me to photocopy his father's notes, written in German, about the history of his family. I found a reference to "Onkel Heinrich Bergmann," which I had translated for me. This is what is written:

> The most shining person—light and shadow—was Uncle Heinrich. I did not know nor meet him. But he was an eminent and clever person, very gifted. I remember a drawing he made of a stag that could have been drawn by Dürer. Early on he realized the opportunity to immigrate to South Africa. I remember a masterly description of a voyage by sailing ship, as gripping as a novel, in which is related a mutiny of the sailors. He was not only clever; he was also a brilliant personality. So much so that he married

NOTES

[1] *Die Nachkommen des Jakob Seligmann* [Descendants of Jakob Seligmann]. Compiled by Reinhold Seligmann in 1935 and revised by him in 1966.

[2] There is an Aliwal South, better known nowadays as Mossel Bay.

[3] See *The British Conquest and Dominion of India*, by Penderel Moon, published by India Research Press, New Delhi, 1989, p. 599, footnote 12.

[4] Caption in an exhibit at the Aliwal North Museum.

[5] Information from a newspaper clipping, undated but after 1941, seen in the Aliwal North Museum.

[6] 1899-1902.

[7] Gustav Saron and Louis Hotz (Saron and Hotz), *The Jews in South Africa*, published by Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1955.

[8] Saron and Hotz, pp. 315-6.

[9] NAAIRS: WWW.NATIONAL.ARCHSRCH.GOV.ZA/

[10] NAAIRS: Genealogical Society of South Africa, Peter Holden/Bergman H: Gravestone.

[11] Many farms in South Africa had their own private family cemeteries.

[12] *Aliwal North, One Hundred Years*, by F.J. Du Plooy (publication details unknown).

[13] Koos and David De Wet were brothers.

[14] *Aliwal North—Historical Notes*, by J.G.F. Kruger: a typed manuscript, unpublished.

[15] Heinrich Bergmann was his great-grand uncle.

[16] The original German reads: "*Aber als er £5000 zahlen sollte, fälschte er einen Wechsel in der Hoffnung bei Fällsgkeit, das Geld zu haben.*"

[17] This is noted in a history of the De Wet family written by Abrie Oosterhuis in an unpublished mimeographed document.

[18] 1 *morgen* = approx. 1.17 *hectares*.

[19] NAAIRS: KAB/4068/01/95/1/1853/ 1853. If a person did not have Burghership ("*burgerskap*" in Afrikaans)—i.e. citizenship—they were not entitled to purchase property or land under their own name.

[20] NAAIRS: KAB/CSC/ vol 2/2/1/129 /01/ 67/1859.

[21] Joseph Mosenthal arrived from Kassel,

Germany to South Africa in 1839. His brothers Adolph and Julius followed shortly afterwards. They established a chain of trading stations throughout the Cape, and created an organized system of commerce. For more detail see Saron and Hotz, p. 349 et seq.

[22] Goldmann arrived in Burghersdorp, not far from Aliwal North, sometime between 1845 and 1856 (Saron and Hotz, p. 318).

[23] See *Merchant Pioneers: The House of Mosenthal* by D. Fleischer and A. Caccia, published by Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, 1983.

[24] NAAIRS: KAB/CSC/ vol 2/2/1/150 /01/78/ 1/1863.

[25] NAAIRS: KAB/CSC/ vol 2/1/1/97 /01/42/ 1/1860.

[26] For example, NAAIRS: KAB/CSC/ vol 1/1/ 2/139 /01/1/1861.

[27] Saron and Hotz, p. 316.

[28] Lazarus (Ludwig) Reichenberger (1835-1909) went to South Africa in 1855 as per Ernest Kallmann. Also, see Karen Franklin's article in *Stammbaum* 17, June 2000, "The Reichenberger Correspondence 1877-1947."

[29] Leopold lived for a while in South Africa, before returning to Germany.

[30] A number of descendants of Henry Bergmann's sister Regine Rosenfels lived in South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Their brother Ludwig also settled in South Africa (in Rouxville, near Aliwal North) for a while before retiring to Munich.

[31] Saron and Hotz, p. 316.

[32] The date on the letter written by Henry Bergmann from Cape Town.

[33] Information from a living descendant of Sigmund Seligmann.

[34] Another small town near Aliwal North. The descendants of Jakob Seligmann who settled in South Africa seemed to have spent at least part of their African sojourn in the towns around Aliwal North, such as Barkly East, Lady Grey and Rouxville.

[35] His older sister Paula married Michaelis Arnholz, who had a store in Rouxville, and her younger sister Hedwig joined her there. It was in Rouxville that Hedwig first met her future

> a lady from the Jewish high aristocracy, Miss Schuster. Business-wise he must have been a genius. And yet he foundered. Uncle Henry was very far-sighted and realised the big opportunities in the African gold mines; and he bought up all the shares. But as he needed to pay £5000, he falsified a promissory note[16] in the hope that when it was due he would have enough money. And when that did not happen, he shot himself....His most intimate friend was Wernher Beit, who took over his possessions. Wernher Beit whose name I remember well from newspaper and stock exchange reports died the most well to do man in London between 1901 and 1910. The foundation of his riches was the gold shares of Uncle Heinrich. His [Heinrich's] ideas were in fact correct. If he'd stayed alive, the fate of the family would have been different.

This passage strengthened my belief that the Heinrich Bergmann on my family tree was indeed the same person as Henry Bergman, whose tragic life colors the history of Aliwal North. Although it is clear that Heinrich erred, in taking financial risks that did not pay off, he remedied the situation in an honorable way, by nineteenth century standards.

In August last year we set out for a visit to South Africa. Just before we left I was given a copy of a letter written by Heinrich Bergmann from Cape Town, dated 8th August 1849. It is written in clear handwriting, in a cursive script that I am unable to decipher, but the person who gave it to me said that she could make out in it a description of a sea voyage and mention of a mutiny. This could well be the account of the voyage alluded to in the quotation above.

In South Africa we visited Aliwal North where we met the town's museum curator who showed us her excellent museum. She took us to see the gravestone of Henry Bergmann, located in the De Wet Pioneer Graveyard, on the southern edge of the town near the thermal springs. The graves were moved to this location from another De Wet property some years ago. During the disinterment of Bergmann's grave, his gold wedding ring was discovered. This is now kept in the De Wet Museum, which is housed in the Kerkplein Museum. It was spine-tingling experience, seeing this ring. Judging by the diameter of this ring, Bergmann must have had large fingers.

We were told that Mr. and Mrs. De Wet expressed a desire to meet us. It was the De Wet family who originally provided land to the Jewish community of Aliwal North to build their synagogue. According to P. De Wet, whom we were later to meet, his relative P.W. De Wet provided the Jews with half an '*erf*' (plot) of land—half because the Jews only believed in half of the Bible.

We drove out to the farm, located between Aliwal North and Lady Grey, to meet Mr. and Mrs. P. De Wet. Our hosts at this farm were interested in their family history and were visibly moved by the sad story of Henry Bergmann, which also figures in the written history of the De Wet family. Mr. De Wet told me that his grandfather, P. J. De Wet, had acquired the same farm in 1872. P. J. De Wet was the uncle of the brothers Koos and David De Wet who buried their friend, Henry Bergmann. P. De Wet showed us documents that revealed that J.A. Coetzee and Henry Bergmann had bought the farm in 1865.[17] The latter bought 2806 *morgen* of land and Coetzee bought 1215 *morgen*.[18] After his death, Bergmann's part of the land was sold to the De Wet family from his estate. It was a strangely moving experience. After almost 140 years, we were the first members of Bergman's extended family to meet up with the family, the De Wet's, who had befriended him in life and in death. I think that Mr. and Mrs. De Wet felt the same.

I do not yet know the full range of activities undertaken by Henry Bergman in South Africa. Further searching of the catalogue of the National Archives of South Africa has

husband Franz Ginsberg, who was born in Beuthen (Upper Silesia).

[36] S.Seligmann and Co. It existed from 1885 until the early 1960s. My late mother described the store as 'the Harrods of Barkly East.'

revealed some information about the activities and associates of Heinrich Bergmann. In all of the documents he is named "Henry," and in many his surname has the double "n" ending. In 1853, he was applying for "Burghership."[19] In a document[20] dated 1859 Henry Bergmann is a co-litigant with Adolph, Joseph and Julius Mosenthal[21] and a Louis Goldmann[22] in at least one legal case. This was no doubt in his capacity as a member of the important trading company, "Mosenthal Brothers."

Henry Bergmann was indeed a partner of Joseph Mosenthal in his store at Aliwal North.[23] Bergmann also had his own company "Henry Bergman and Company," which was in existence by 1863.[24] About the activities of this company, I have no idea. In 1860 Henry Bergmann was a trustee to the insolvent estate of James Smith John Stewart, the High Sheriff of the Cape of Good Hope.[25] There are a number of records[26] which pair Henry Bergmann with Ludwig (sometimes referred to as "Louis") Reichenberger. Ludwig Reichenberger was another Jewish trader in Aliwal North.[27] Ludwig Reichenberger came from Ichenhausen,[28] as did Henry Bergmann. Ludwig's brother Leopold[29] married Mathilde Rosenfels,[30] who was a niece of Henry Bergmann.

What became of Bergmann's widow is not known to me. His land was bought by the De Wet family and, according to Saron and Hotz[31], his company was taken over by two Jews who traded "under the style of Bergman and Co." Their names were Ludwig Reichenberger and Sichel. These same authors record that the Manchester-born Jews, Benjamin (at one time the Mayor of Aliwal North) and Wolfe Levy, together with Edward Markus, later took over the business of Bergman and Co.

Aliwal North played an important role in the emigration of the descendants of Jakob Seligmann from Ichenhausen. The emigration was started, most probably, by Henry Bergmann in 1849[32] and continued into the later decades of the nineteenth century. In 1874[33] Henry's first cousin Sigmund Seligmann arrived in Rouxville, which is not far from Aliwal North. Sigmund also invited Emanuel Rieser, his first cousin, once removed, to join him in Lady Grey[34] in 1880. Emanuel's two sisters soon followed him to South Africa,[35] and both found husbands there. One of them was my mother's maternal grandmother, Hedwig Rieser. By 1885 Sigmund had set up a thriving trading business in Barkly East.[36] It was to this small town that Sigmund brought his nephew—Iwan Bloch, my mother's father—to join him in his by then very prosperous business.

Swiss Jewish Genealogy

BY GEORGE E. ARNSTEIN

This article continues a series begun by Peter Lande in *Stammbaum* 24, describing sources of information for genealogists on a *Land* (state) or regional basis.

THE SCOPE OF STAMMBAUM EXTENDS TO AREAS WHICH ARE TRADITIONALLY AND linguistically related to Aschkenaz (Germany). One such important instance is a large section of Switzerland whose Jewish genealogical interests are represented by the Swiss Society for Jewish Genealogy (*Schweizerische Vereinigung fuer Jüdische Genealogie*) and its quarterly periodical, *Maajan*, now celebrating more than 20 years of German language publication.

The Swiss confederation was not always hospitable to Jews; it behaved as did all European entities, providing limited or conditional acceptance to Jews. Legal freedom, implemented gradually, was granted to all religious communities by the 1874 Constitution, of which Article 49 recognizes that the freedom of conscience and belief is inviolable.

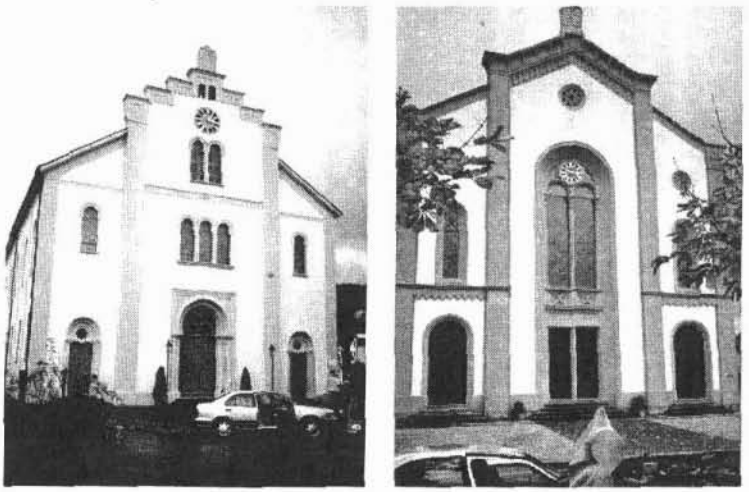


Figure 1: Synagogue in Endingen (left) built 1846-1849 and Lengnau (right) built 1846-1849 (photos by Werner Frank).

There are well-documented older Jewish communities in what is now the Swiss canton of Aargau. When Jews were generally banished from Switzerland during the fifteenth century, they obtained protection and the right to reside in two villages, Lengnau and Oberendingen, in the Surb Valley. The Surb is a tiny tributary of the Aare, in the Aargau canton, approaching the Rhine valley and the German border. Today, Lengnau and Oberendingen, now known as Endingen, both have web sites [WWW.LENGNAU.CH and WWW.ENDINGEN.CH]. The Endingen site mentions Jewish settlers from as early as 1678, whose numbers rose in the middle of the 19th century, despite intermittent expulsions, to about half of its population of nearly 2,000 residents. The Jewish cemetery dates from about 1750 and is shared by both towns. Lengnau and Endingen each boast synagogues even to this day as shown in the accompanying illustration. There is a Jewish home for the aged in Endingen whose population now is overwhelmingly gentile.

Note the family names cited on the Endingen web site, family names that may be found today in Switzerland and neighboring areas: Bollag, Bloch, Braunschweig, Dreifuss,

Guggenheim, Picard, Pollack, and Wyler. The site specifically mentions Ruth Dreifuss who was elected to the five member national governing council and, according to customary rotation, served a term as national president of the Swiss Confederation.

The Endingen web site also claims film director William Wyler, who indeed had a Swiss father and went to school in Lausanne (Switzerland), but was born in Mulhouse, Alsace in 1902 when it was under German sovereignty. He died in Los Angeles in 1981.

The Jews of the Surb Valley migrated to the big Swiss cities such as Zurich and Basel. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many Jews from Alsace, Eastern Europe and Germany added to this core group. In 1920, the Jewish population of Switzerland reached its peak at 21,000, a figure that has remained almost constant ever since at almost half of one percent of the total population.

Following the usual custom, with itinerant traders often as messengers to inform of nubile candidates, there was a good deal of marriage with other nearby Jewish communities such as in southwest Germany, in Alsace, and in Vorderösterreich (Hither Austria, the awkward translation for the Austrian tentacles which reached northward across the Danube and the Rhine). Names like Bollag and Pollack still echo this earlier migration into Swiss territory.

A personal note illustrates such links: My matrilineal great-uncle Sigmund Neuburger was born in Württemberg and moved to St. Gall before World War I where he married Lucie Wyler. He had ancestors in Hohenems in today's Austria, barely across the Swiss border. My patrilineal great-aunt Rosa Arnstein married Albert Weil in Zurich, also before World War I. She was born in Franconia (Bavaria), with some ancestral ties to Bohemia clear back to the famous expulsion from Vienna in 1670.

Many Swiss Jews have ancestors in Alsace on the west side of the Rhine, especially the southern part known as Sundgau, and in Baden on the east of the Rhine. Alsace until the end of WWI was German, then French after WWI, and once more conquered by the Germans in WWII. Today, of course, it is once again French. The former Grand-duchy of Baden is today part of the German state of Baden-Württemberg.

Maajan, produced by a volunteer staff, serves almost 100 Swiss Society members. In recent years it has formed an unusual but effective alliance with the Hamburg Association for Jewish Genealogy (the only such Jewish genealogy organization in Germany) thus increasing its circulation and influence.

Since this essay deals with Switzerland, references to the Hamburg contributions will be short. Two items deserve mention here:

> Editor of the Hamburg section is Jürgen Sielemann, a professional archivist and a recent recipient of the 2004 Obermayer Award (see "Topics and Events," page 45 in this issue).
>
> Contributions in the Hamburg section often reflect the Sephardic heritage of many Jews buried in Hamburg, evidence of still another expulsion and migration.

Oddly enough, many of the family trees and other computer-generated tables in *Majaan* reflect the prevalence of American software: dates are shown as b[irth], m[arriage], and d[eath]. Given Switzerland's official acceptance of several languages, occasional entries reflect their French origin or influence. This can get tricky; a recent reference was to Schlettstadt in Alsace, today known as Selestat. And the major Swiss city of Basel may also be shown as Bâle.

Maajan is rather generous in publishing family trees. Here are some examples:

"Ancestors of Fiona Braunschweig" reaching back to the eighteenth century and

including a descendant chart in issue 63.

A series of articles on the Jews of Stühlingen (across the border in Germany) and their ties to Endingen, as, for example, family Guggenheim (issues 53, 55 and 69).

"Ancestors of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy" showing ties to Lengnau in issue 69.

There is a tongue-in-cheek descendant list "5758 Years Long Ancestor List" in issue 47. It begins with Adam but omits Eve, includes Noah, Methuselah, skips 30 generations after [King] David, and ends with the author, Raymond Jung, a long-term mainstay of the Swiss association. Jung refers to earlier contributions by Peter Stein in issue 44 who had traced the Wahl family of Alsace to [once King-for-a-day] Saul Wahl of Poland.

Another feature of *Maajan* is an edited translation of circumcision [*mohel* books] and marriage registers, mostly from Alsace. "Edited" here is meant as a compliment in the sense that annotations explain or reconcile inconsistencies or point out how two same or similar names may (or may not) refer to the same person. These books include: "List of marriages by Naftali ben Schimon Blum (Alsace)," edited by Daniel Teichman [issue 63 carries the 14th installment of an obviously long series]; and "Mohel Registers of the Upper Alsace, the Surb Valley and the Basel Region" in issue 47, summarizing the registers which still exist, beginning with the register of Schimon ben Naftali Blum, 1672-1689, published in issues 38 and 39.

Peter Stein, a now retired lawyer in Basel, is a major contributor to *Maajan* [noteworthy are the various articles on Stühlingen cited above], as well as author of the section on Jewish genealogy in the 2001 yearbook of the mostly German language publication on Swiss Family History [*Familienforschung Schweiz*] of the Swiss Genealogical Society.

Another mainstay of *Maajan* is its editor, Daniel Teichman, who showed in issue 47 the ancestry of his spouse reaching back as far as the Maharam of Padua (1482-1565), thanks in part to Neil Rosenstein's *The Unbroken Chain* [published by CIS Publishers, revised edition of 1990].

WEBSITES RELATED TO SWISS JEWISH HISTORY AND GENEALOGY

WWW.EYE.CH/SWISSGEN/VER/JEINFO-D.HTM
The Swiss Society for Jewish Genealogy

WWW.EYE.CH/SWISSGEN/VER/JEMAAJAN.HTM#TOP
Site of Majaan, *German language organ of the Swiss Society for Jewish Genealogy*

WWW.JEWISHGEN.ORG/CEMETERY/W-EUUROPE/SWITZERLAND.HTML
Listing of Swiss Jewish cemeteries

WWW.ALEMANNIA-JUDAICA.DE/LENGNAU_SYNAGOGE.HTM
History of Lengnau and links to Swiss Jewish cemeteries, communities and photos of historic sites

WWW.LENGNAU-AG.CH/BILDARCHIV.HTM
and WWW.PICSWISS.CH/AG-L15.HTML
More information about Lengnau and links to the oldest Swiss Jewish cemetery

Jewish Vienna: A Short History and Guide to Genealogical Research

BY HENRY WELLISCH

This article continues a series begun by Peter Lande in *Stammbaum* 24, describing sources of information for genealogists on a *Land* (state) or regional basis.

IT IS SAID THAT THE FIRST JEWS ARRIVED IN VIENNA WITH THE ROMANS, but the first documentary evidence of their presence goes back only to the 12th century. In the second half of the thirteenth century the community included two rabbis and several institutions. The Jewish quarter, near the city centre, consisted of about 70 buildings in which about 1,000 persons resided at a time when the general population reached around 20,000 [*Encyclopedia Judaica*]. In those days, Jews were permitted to own property and employ Christian servants.

At the time of the religious wars of the 15th century, the position of the Jewish community deteriorated. The end came in 1421, when the Archduke Albert V ordered some Jews expelled and the rest brutally executed. This was the end of the first community and thereafter the city became known in Jewish circles as Ir Hadamim (City of Blood). In the following years very few Jewish families were readmitted.

Towards the end of the 16th century, some wealthy Jews were allowed to settle and act as financial backers of the court, as suppliers of the military, and as monetary advisers. Over time more Jewish families came, and around 1620 Emperor Leopold decided to resettle the Jews outside the city walls. This area, called Unterer Werd, became known as the Viennese ghetto. Later it was named Leopoldstadt after the Emperor and that is its name to this day. Jews were allowed to own houses and gardens; they operated 70 shops in the city and practiced artisan trades. The community had its own courts, synagogue, hospital and other institutions. Relations between the Jewish community and the citizens of Vienna, especially the merchants, while never very good, again began to deteriorate.

The Emperor was able to protect the Jews until 1670, when he acceded to the wishes of the city council and ordered the entire community of about 3,000 persons to be expelled (at a time when the total population of Vienna was 130,000). Queen Christina of Sweden and the Pope intervened, but to no avail. The majority went to Moravia and Bohemia; some settled on the estates of Prince Esterhazy in nearby Hungary and about 50 well-to-do families were allowed to immigrate to Berlin.

However, the dependence of the Emperor and his court on Jewish financial and commercial expertise led to the reestablishment of a limited number of wealthy Jewish families in Vienna, also known as *Hofjuden* (Court Jews). The most influential were Samuel

Oppenheimer (1630-1703) and Samson Wertheimer (1658-1724). During these years, Jews led a very restricted life. They were not allowed to form a community and only in 1826 was the erection of a synagogue permitted. Incidentally, this is the only synagogue that survived the infamous *Kristallnacht* of 1938.

In 1782 the more enlightened Emperor Josef issued his famous *Toleranzpatent* which gave the Jews a limited type of citizenship and allowed them entry to primary and secondary schools. At the same time rabbinical judicial autonomy was abolished and Jews had to adopt German or German-sounding first and family names. Military service became obligatory. The rigid restrictions on residence of Jews in Vienna lasted until 1848. It is estimated that at the beginning of the 19th century there were about 1,000 legal Jewish residents in Vienna. The revolution of 1848 was a watershed for Vienna and its Jews. Some of the leaders of the revolution were Jewish and Jews participated for the first time in the political life of the city.

After his coronation in 1848, the young Emperor Franz Josef proclaimed a new constitution, resulting in the termination of various restrictions and special Jewish taxes. Over the next years further progress was made until in 1867 all Austrian citizens achieved freedom of religion and civil rights. Taking advantage of the new liberal era, large numbers of people began to move to Vienna among them many thousands of Jews, mostly from Moravia, Bohemia, Hungary and, later, from Galicia. The Jewish population skyrocketed from about 6,000 in 1857 to 175,000 in 1910, during which period the general population reached its zenith of 2,320,000.

Vienna was a fast growing city and Jews found many opportunities for advancement. Some call the period between the middle of the 19th century and the outbreak of the First World War the "golden age" of Viennese Jewry. The achievements of Viennese Jews in virtually every field of human endeavor have enriched not only Jews but all of mankind. Here are some names: Sigmund Freud, Theodor Herzl, Martin Buber, Hugo von Hoffmannstal, Arthur Schnitzler, Franz Werfel, Stefan Zweig, Gustav Mahler, Arnold Schoenberg, Johann Strauss (partly-Jewish), Fritz Kreisler, Bruno Walter, Rudolf Bing and many others.

Before World War II the Nobel Prize for medicine and physiology was awarded four times to Austria; three of the recipients were Jews. By the end of the 19th century more than half of all medical doctors and lawyers in Vienna were Jews. In other sectors such as the theatre, press, wholesale and retail trade, manufacturing and transportation, Jews had established important and sometimes dominant positions.

It is no surprise, then, that starting in the second part of the 19th century, anti-Semitism began to proliferate in Viennese society. With the election of Karl Lueger in 1897, Vienna attained an anti-Semite as mayor, but it must be said that, once in office, he toned down his anti-Semitism. The breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918 left Vienna as the capital of an impoverished small state and anti-Semitism was on the rise. Many Jews were looking back to the good old days under the Kaiser Franz Josef. After a short recovery during the 1920s came the depression of the 1930s and the end of the state arrived in March 1938 with the annexation of Austria by Germany.

The ferocity of the outbreak of anti-Jewish outrages in Vienna was unprecedented for a Western city in the 20th century, culminating in the infamous *Kristallnacht* of 9-10 November 1938. Hundreds committed suicide, about 120,000 lucky ones escaped, and

over 60,000 perished. When the Red army conquered Vienna in April 1945 there were about 5,000 Jews left, most of whom were partners in mixed marriages. Today about 9,000 Jews live in Vienna; many are post-war immigrants from Eastern Europe.

We are very lucky that many of the vital records of Jewish Vienna have survived. The most important ones are the birth, marriage and death registers compiled by the Jewish community between 1826 and 1938; these records have been microfilmed by the Family History Library (FHL) of the Mormon Church.

Other Viennese records are available from the FHL on microfilm as follows:
Domicile registration of Vienna inhabitants (Meldezettel), approx. 1870-1925
Death register: 1648-1920, partially indexed; birth register of males: 1858-1901
Daily account of deaths in Vienna hospitals, 1848-1942
Probate records, Magistrates court: 1548-1850, indexed
Military records: Muster sheets of Viennese soldiers arranged alphabetically, 1760-1900
Emigration and Immigration: Passport register 1792 -1918, partially indexed
Occupations: Register of workbooks, 1860-1919, indexed
City directories: 1870, 1902, 1906, 1908 and 1925
Telephone directory: approx. 1920

IMPORTANT ADDRESSES AND WEBSITES

Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien (Jewish Community of Vienna)
Seitenstettengasse 4, A-1010 Vienna.
Director of registry: Mrs. Heidrun Weiss
Email: H.WEISS@IKG-WIEN.AT

Jewish Welcome Service (Jewish tourist information service)
Stephansplatz 10, A-1010 Vienna. Tel. 01/533-2730, Fax: 01/533-4098
Email: JEWISH.WELCOME@VERKEHRSBUERO.AT

SCHALOM, Verein zur Wiederherstellung und Erhaltung der jüd. Friedhöfe in Wien
(Society for the restoration of Jewish cemeteries in Vienna)
Tel./Fax: 01/ 767-15 07
Zentralfriedhof Tor 1, A-1110 Vienna, c/o Mr. Walter Pagler.
(Mr. Pagler has taken on the responsibility of looking after Jewish cemeteries in Austria.)
Website (German/English) includes database: HTTP://SCHALOM.AT
Email: VEREIN.SCHALOM@UTANET.AT

Another searchable database (in English) of over 150,000 Jewish burials in Austria
HTTP://FRIEDHOF.IKG-WIEN.AT/SEARCH.ASP?LANG=EN

Oesterreichisches Staats und Kriegsarchiv, (State and war archive)
Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (General administrative archive)
Nottendorfplatz 2, A-1030 Vienna.
Website (English): WWW.OESTA.GV.AT/EWELCOM.HTM

Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Court and State archive)
Minoritenplatz 1, A-1010 Vienna
(Records on aristocratic titles, distinctions and diplomatic service 1848-1919)
Website (German): WWW.OESTA.GV.AT/BESTAND/HHARCHIV/FR_I_HH.HTM

Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv (Vienna county and city Archives at city hall)
Magistratsabteilung 8 (MA 8) (Domicile registration of Vienna inhabitants [Meldezettel] before 1948), Magistratsabteilung 61 (MA61) (Recruitment lists, testamentary provisions, proof of domicile, proof of death certificates) Rathaus, A-1010 Vienna.
Website: (English): WWW.WIEN.GV.AT/ENGLISH/ANCESTORS
Email: POST@MO8.MAGWIEN.GV.AT

Bundespolizeidirektion Wien, Zentralmeldeamt
1092 Vienna, Rossauerlande 5
(Domicile registration on Vienna inhabitants [Meldezettel] after 1948)

Dokumentationsarchiv des Oesterreichischen Widerstandes (Austrian resistance archives)
Wipplingerstrasse 8, A-1010 Vienna
Website (German): WWW.DOEW.AT has searchable database of 62,000 Austrian Holocaust victims.
Email: ERFASSUNG@DOEW.AT

Bohemian-Moravian Special Interest Group (Bohmor-SIG)
On the WWW.JEWISHGEN.ORG website visit the Bohmor-Sig home page and look for the excellent "Beginner's Guide to Austrian-Jewish Genealogy."

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Pribram, A.F. *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien* [Documents and Registers for the History of the Jews in Vienna]. Vienna: Braumüller, 1918.

Schwartz, Ignaz. *Das Wiener Ghetto* [The Viennese Ghetto]. Vienna: Braumüller, 1909.

Steinhauer Mary, publ. *Totenbuch Theresienstadt* [Theresienstadt Death Book]. Vienna: Junius, 1987.

Wachstein, Bernhard. *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien* [The Inscriptions of the Old Jewish Cemetery in Vienna]. Vienna: Braumüller, 1917.

Using the Uncatalogued Collection in the Library of Congress Hebraic Section to Find an Ancestor in Subscriber Lists

BY EDWARD DAVID LUFT

מנחה חדשה

מחזור

על כל השנה

מחזור פיר ראש השנה.

קראטאשין

Figure 1 (this page): Title page of Machzor for Rosh Hashanah *printed by Monasch in Krotoschin; Figure 2 (facing page): The Chodzezen subscriber list in the* Machzor for Rosh Hashanah.

PRENUMERANTENLISTEN ARE LISTS OF SUBSCRIBERS FOR BOOKS ABOUT TO BE PUBLISHED. The list appears in the book when it is published. The lists reveal information about the subscribers, such as the fact that they purchased the printed work, where they lived, how many copies they purchased, a version of their names, and sometimes honorifics. Genealogical researchers can thus know something about the economic condition of the subscriber, his location, and sometimes other information. The Library of Congress holds many such books, published by mostly Jewish printers who catered to popular tastes in the 18th and 19th centuries. Many of these books were religious works of commentary or prayer books. Interestingly, some of these books were published for Jews of German culture and in areas that were part of what was or became Germany.

Fortunately, a book exists which will allow researchers to locate publications of the 19th and earlier centuries containing subscriber lists, sometimes called either *Prenumerantenlisten* or *Subscribentenlisten*. This index book by Berl Kagan was partially created from the Library of Congress uncatalogued book holdings and includes publications in Roman or in Hebrew letters.[1] Some sources refer to these lists by one of the more modern German terms since neither term is exactly modern German terminology. These alternate descriptors are, in order of frequency of use, *Abonnementlisten*, *Subskriptionslisten*, or *Pränumerationslisten*. While the Kagan book is mostly in Yiddish, the introduction, with an explanation of use, is also in English. Most of the entries are for further east in Europe, but a surprisingly large number are for Germany, especially those parts now in Poland, in part because the printer Baer Loeb Monasch[2] worked in Krotoschin, now Krotoszyn, Poland.

Few people know that the Library of Congress has a card catalogue of uncatalogued books. The catalogue includes Hebraica, Yiddica, and some other items too diverse to describe except that all somehow relate to Jews and are in a non-Roman alphabet, usually Hebrew. The wooden catalogue container is located at the back of the African and Middle Eastern Reading Room on the second floor of the Jefferson Building, behind the offices of those who work in the room. The drawers are not visible from any point in the main part of the room. The public is allowed free access to the area where the wooden catalogue stands although that fact is not advertised. The wooden drawers hold 3 x 5 cards, listing items held by the Library of Congress that are not "officially" catalogued except for those

cards describing certain holdings belonging to the Hebraica Section. Some of those holdings are not found anywhere else in the world. In addition, many of those cards have coded indications of other locations where the item can also be found, such as "NNYI" for YIVO.[3] These codes also indicate where the information on the card originated; suggesting that such other places might also be holding the item in their own catalogue. However, at the Library of Congress, the item is known as uncatalogued. It is held in the special storage area unless it was later catalogued, in which case the researcher can find it listed in the online catalogue or in the old card catalogue, hopefully now stored in the regular Hebraica collections of the African and Middle Eastern Division. Note that the later cataloguing is *not* noted in the cards so the only way to know is to check the online catalogue and/or the old card catalogue of catalogued books. The uncatalogued collection is a closed catalogue, meaning that no items are being added to the catalogue. Sometimes the cards contain annotations of observations by librarians who noted errors or omissions in the cards or in the underlying books. Frequently, but not always, the cards will indicate when the book listed has a list of subscribers. The collection is vast and in some disarray on the shelves where the books are actually stored, but the cards are in good order and very usable if one can read Hebrew letters. Some of the cards are in Roman letters.

In case the Kagan book might have missed an item, there are at least two ways to check for uncatalogued books in the Library of Congress Hebraica Section using the cards. One search avenue is by subject. Thus, under "Jews, Liturgy and Ritual" one could search for Festival Days or some other subcategory and then check the *machzorim*[4] by date. For example, one card describes a nine-volume series[5] printed in 1838 by Baer Loeb Monasch in Krotoschin (in Hebrew) with a subscriber list in each of several volumes (see Figure 1 and Figure 2). This item has in fact recently been catalogued and is in the catalogued

Subscribenten-Verzeichniss.

Chodzezen.

Hr. J. Friedländer.
" J. Neumann.
" J. Sternberg.
" M. Mannheim.
" Wolffsohn (Lehrer).
" Wolff Adam.

collection. The other way to search the cards is by title in the separate Hebrew cards for titles. Although no card may be found by author, it may be present by title. Since there is no way to know which books will have subscriber lists, unless the researcher knows that a book contains relevant listings, the only alternative is to search card by card as Kagan did.

Two very useful articles in German deal with understanding subscriber lists. They are: Markreich, Max, with Czellitzer, Arthur, "Alte Subscribentenlisten als Quellen jüdischer Familiengeschichte, I" [Old subscription lists as sources of Jewish family history, I][6]; and "Alte Subscribentenlisten als Quellen jüdischer Familiengeschichte, II" [Old subscription lists as sources of Jewish family history, II].[7] Markreich bases his discussion on Blogg, Solomon ben Ephraim, *Die fünf Bücher Moses nebst den Haphtharas und den fünf Megiloth. Nach der Mendelssohnschen Tradition.*[8] For example, he shows the entry for a typical subscriber in Lissa as: Rosenstock, pelt preparation business, p. 241. Since the information on

NOTES

[1] Kagan, Berl, *Sefer ha-prenumerantn: vegvayzer tsu prenumerirte hebreishe sefarim un zayere hotmim fun 8,767 kehilot in ayrope un tsafon-afrikel/Hebrew subscription lists* [Book of subscriber lists: Guide to subscribed Hebrew books...for 8,767 communities in Europe and North Africa]. Nyu-York: Di Bibliotek fun Yidish-Teologishn Seminar in Nyu-York: Ketav, 1975, 384 pp., including indexes. BM496.8.K33 Hebraic, African/Middle East RR (Jefferson LJ220).

[2] It can also be spelled Bär Löb or as a combination of the two forms of spelling.

[3] YIVO Institute for Jewish Research Archives, Center for Jewish History, 15 West 16th Street, New York, NY 10011; Tel.: 212 246 6080; Fax: 212 292 1892. Open Monday to Thursday from 9:30 A.M. to 5:30 P.M. Closed Fridays, weekends, Jewish and civil holidays. See the website at WWW.CJH.ORG for further information.

[4] Prayer books for festival occasions.

[5] Cunow, [Michael Menahem], with Fürstenthal, Raphael Jacob, ed., *Minhah hadashah: oder durkhoys ferbessertes mahzer: nokh Haydenhayms komentar fasslikher und allgemayn ferttendlikher iberzettst/Festgebete der Israeliten für das Ganze Jahr*, Krotoschin; D[ov] B[erl] ben R. L. Monasch, 1838, Vols. 1-2 in 1 [Rosh ha-Shanah], 10 pp. + 3 pp. of subscriber lists at back of each part; Vols. 3-4 in 1 [Yom Kippur], 2 pp. of subscriber names at back; Vol. 9 [Shavuot], 5 pp. of subscriber lists at back; all subscriber lists include many Posen Province names, arranged by town. Mahzor in Hebrew & Yiddish. The Library of Congress lacks Vols. 5-6. The set was reprinted in 1841 and 1864. BM674.448.F87 1838 Hebr. The entire set is at YIVO under a Hebrew call number. The full set of *Prenumerantenlisten* are in the Edward Luft Collection, AR 6957 at the Leo Baeck Institute, New York City. Alternatively known as *Minchah Chadashah*, translated by Fürstenthal, Raphael Jacob, and Michael Menahem Cunow; held at Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York City, Vols. 1-5, 1864 edition; and at Brandeis

University, Vols. 1 and 3, 1838 edition. Copies of editions for 1859 and 1876 exist in Poznań, presumably at the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka im. Adama Mickiewicza. Also *Minhah hadasha, oder, Mahzor Festgebete der Israeliten für das ganze Jahr*, 8th edition, Krotoschin: B. L. Monasch, 1859. Hebrew, German. Vol. 3: Gebete für das Laubhüttenfest. Text in Hebrew with German translation at bottom of page. At Leo Baeck Institute, ST 1096.

[6] *Jüdische Familien-Forschung: Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Jüdische Familien-Forschung* [Jewish Family Research: Reports of the Society for Jewish Family Research], Arthur Czellitzer, ed., Berlin, DS135.G3A255 Hebraic Reference at Library of Congress; and at Leo Baeck Institute, y/B184. Also in a reprint. See Vol. 3, No. 2, June 1927, Issue 10, pp. 238-243, in the first series numbering of the periodical.

[7] *Jüdische Familien-Forschung: Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Jüdische Familien-Forschung* [Jewish Family Research: Reports of the Society for Jewish Family Research], Arthur Czellitzer, ed., Berlin, DS135.G3A255 Hebraic Reference at Library of Congress; and at Leo Baeck Institute, y/B184. Also in a reprint. See Vol. 3, No. 3, September 1927, Issue 11, pp. 259-261, in the first series numbering of the periodical.

[8] Bearb. und corrigiert von S. E. Blogg. Hannover: Königliche Hofbuchdruckerei, E. A. Telgener, 5603 1843, viii, 654, 210 pp. 23 cm., German and Hebrew. At head of title: Torat Hatemimah. At Leo Baeck Institute, BS 1224 G4 B5 1843.

ancestors is simple and forthright, it is usually not necessary to understand more than how to read the alphabet in which the list is printed to find an ancestor listed there. Few people today will be greatly interested in reading what our ancestors were so eager to purchase, but many modern researchers will be fascinated with the fact that they sought to acquire such intellectual tomes. Were they more interested in impressing parlor visitors with the nice bindings and titles?

Capital was scarce among Jewish publishers in Central Europe in the 19th century and earlier. They were typically small businessmen at that time and frequently used a system of solicitation of subscriptions by interested parties to raise the capital to print books. When or if they raised sufficient capital from advance sales, the book went into production and was then distributed to the subscribers. The subscriber lists were printed in Hebrew or Yiddish or in the Roman alphabet, regardless of the language of the underlying publication. Sometimes, different volumes of the same series contained lists in different alphabets. That was indeed the case in the nine-volume festival prayer books printed in 1838 by Monasch. So Vol. 1 might have such a list of subscribers in the Hebrew alphabet while Vol. 4 might contain a similar list of different subscribers for that volume in the Roman alphabet. Vols. 2 and 3 might contain no subscriber lists at all or might have just an add-in list of those not listed in Vol. 1 because of errors or late subscription. Usually the lists are printed at the rear of the volume, but sometimes in the front. Sometimes a profession is stated. Overall, there appears to be no discernable pattern except that the lists are usually alphabetical by town.

The African and Middle Eastern Reading Room has photocopying facilities by use of a prepaid card and offers free access to the Internet and to the Library of Congress online catalogue. Reference librarians may agree to translate a phrase but will seldom agree to translate more than a sentence. The room holds a large number of dictionaries for translating between English and other languages, and computers enable online dictionary access and displays in Hebrew and other languages and alphabets to translate content online.

Book Review

BY GEORGE E. ARNSTEIN

Discussed in this essay: *Juedisches Leben im Wandel der Zeit* [Jewish Life in the Course of Time] by Paul Sauer and Sonja Hosseinzadeh (with subtitle: *170 Years of the Jewish Community; 50 Years New Synagogue in Stuttgart*). Bleicher Verlag, Gerlingen, 2002. ISBN 3-88350-338-X. €19.50.

This is an unusual book review since the reviewer has a personal stake in the facts and was an eyewitness to many of the events described. Hence, the assessment of the work is somewhat of a personal nature and quite subjective, as well as a commentary on the times.

The Bleicher publishing house issued this book in conjunction with the Israelitische Religionsgemeinschaft [community] of Württemberg. The preface is written by Governor Teufel of Baden-Württemberg and Mayor Schuster of Stuttgart. Subsidies in support of the book came from both of these governments, plus corporate contributions which include the Robert Bosch Foundation, noteworthy because Robert Bosch in his day was clearly a philo-semite.

Paul Sauer, author of the pre-World War II part, is an experienced historian and retired archivist, who has published several books on the Jewish communities of Württemberg and Baden that are highly useful for genealogy as well as historical research.

Sonja Hosseinzadeh, born in Württemberg, is also a historian. She is responsible for the postwar section of the book which is heavily oriented toward describing the current Jewish population, the majority of which came from "the East," primarily the former Soviet bloc.

The book is the product of controversy. The Stuttgart Jewish community initially decided against publication. Then, under new leadership, it sponsored the publication in time to fit the existing publishing schedule with short, tight deadlines. The result makes for great unevenness, errors of fact, and the lack of an index. Also worth noting is the tone; most of the cited persons were leaders who were upstanding, charitable, well-intentioned, generous and more. Sauer in effect wrote an obituary for a former community: *de mortuis nil nisi bonum.*

Both authors focus on the religious community, based on conscientious research which yields lots of Stuttgart local names, with understandable emphasis on those in leadership positions—the makers and shakers—likely to be mentioned in historical accounts and old newspaper clippings.

Genealogically speaking, Dr. Sauer's contribution is especially useful for those interested in the social context, whether it is the nearly solid enthusiasm for the WWI effort in support of the Fatherland or the tensions between observant minority "orthodox" Jews and the more "liberal" Stuttgart majority. Names are generously cited throughout—Dr. Otto Hirsch is cited often for his civic as well as his communal contributions—but you have to know that he is the father of Hans G. Hirsch, member of the *Stammbaum* Advisory Committee and Trustee of the Leo Baeck Institute, if you want to "place" him on a family tree. That is why the lack of an index is worth a second mention.

The tone is quite appropriate for a *Festschrift* although the encomia accumulate. Take the case of a kind of Jewish emergency room, intended for the Stuttgart community. It was almost ready when World War I broke out: "The executive committee...did not hesitate *for an instant* to turn the building over to the military..." There are no villains cited in the book, or to be more precise, there is an occasional misdeed, glossed over in a short sentence before we get back to persons like my step-great-grandfather, co-founder in 1871 of an Association for Daily Religious Services intended to contribute to an intensification of the religious life of the community. (I did not know that, or many other things that are mentioned in this book.)

Both parts of the book are loaded with titles, typical of the German practice, a bit odd for American readers. Certainly doctorates are worth citing, and so are relevant job titles. But what are we to make of "Director Richard Neuburger?" Director of what? Since he was a distant cousin I know that after his return from Theresienstadt, he was reinstated and promoted by the Dresdner Bank.

There are other, more complex accumulations of titles and honors. In his tight summaries, Sauer also found room for a puzzling reference to how the persecuted Jews continued to be German patriots. The paragraph continues with the well-documented case of Helmut Hirsch (another relative), born 1916 in Stuttgart, who immigrated with his parents to Prague. From there he undertook a mission to bomb the Nuremberg Nazi Party rally, was betrayed and arrested on his arrival in Stuttgart, and ultimately sentenced to death in 1937 in Berlin (p. 135).

The focus of the book is on the organized life of the community, on industrial success, the rise of the middle class, the importance of banking and the generally supportive actions of the Württemberg royal house. This should be contrasted with the widespread restrictions of an earlier period—expulsions, protection fees, and the notorious case of "Jew Suess" Oppenheimer, who was victimized and hanged in Stuttgart in 1738.

Sauer has written a very useful historical account. It is also a reminder of the migratory patterns, beginning with the flight (beyond the scope of this book) of Jews from the terrors of the Germanic states in the late Middle Ages to seek a better life in "the East." They took their language with them; it survives with modifications as Yiddish.

With the rise of pogroms, there was, mostly before WWI, the well-known massive exodus to America and also to Germany by "Eastern" Jews who looked for a better life and, barely mentioned by Sauer, experienced discrimination by the established German Jews. Before the beginning of WWII, many of these once-Polish Jews were expelled by the Nazis, portrayed by Sauer's unblinking description of how real persecution was implemented, how the noose tightened.

The next migration came after WWII when many of the Displaced Persons did not wish to return to their homelands in the East and preferred to remain in Germany. There followed a continuing stream westward to the point where the Jewish population in Germany is overwhelmingly of Eastern origin. Bulletins of today's Jewish community in Stuttgart are more prevalent in Russian than in German, as I saw for myself as recently as November 2003 when I met the young custodian of the Jewish community who explained, in less-than-fluent German, how he had served as a German military peacekeeper in Bosnia.

It is this community which is the focus of the contribution of Mrs. Hosseinzadeh. She begins with the decimated remnant of Stuttgart survivors who managed to return and reestablish a tiny community. She then explores in some detail the tensions between West and East, and the predictable outcome, given the demographics of the small, aging

remnant of "real" Stuttgarters and the relative fertility of the DPs and their successors. The new synagogue was inaugurated only in May 1952 after there was a major arrival of the "eastern" contingent.

The "real" Stuttgarters shed their pre-war nationalism, became more Zionistic, but also revived the old male chauvinism. There was a residence requirement—to elect the leadership and to be elected you had to have lived in Germany before the war. Women were at first excluded from the leadership, then given a quota of one, culminating with a woman, Barbara Traub, as today's leader, spokesperson, and author of the introduction to the book. Among the very first women elected to leadership was Jenny Heymann, whom I remember from my childhood and from postwar visits. She died at age 105. Her short biography appears on p. 179.

I recognized very few of the names, probably because I left Stuttgart for the United States at age 13. Still, I like the reference to the painter Ignaz Kaufmann who did a portrait of my father which still hangs in my living room. I also own his Neckar landscape, with tall chimneys in the distance. If anybody asks, the smoke stacks are part of the original Mercedes factory. In the same paragraph there is a reference to Klara Neuburger whom I recall as a relative who dabbled in painting.

It's nice to have confirmation of the leadership of Karl Noerdlinger (p.91). He was the law partner of my grandfather who belonged to the nonobservant segment of the Jewish community which was seldom discussed by Sauer. That also explains why there is no mention of my paternal relatives, some of whom go back to the 18th century in Stuttgart.

Sauer enumerates many pre-war efforts to get young people interested in blue collar occupations, including agriculture, unlike the professions which attracted so many upwardly mobile urban German Jews.

As noted earlier, Sauer is a competent historian who includes an overview of Württemberg history, with emphasis on Jews, which taught or reminded me of things I didn't know. So, for that matter did Hosseinzadeh, who had a much tougher job because she had to work with the files stored in the basement of the Stuttgart community.

In my recent search for the collection of Jewish communal registers—*Matrikel*—the custodian exposed me to an archival chaos, alluded to by Hosseinzadeh. Her account is a rather political overview of the shift from "real" Stuttgart Jews to the contingent of Eastern origin. She used documents to tell less than the full story as, for example, in her reference to Alfred Marx, a retired judge. In fact, Marx, a survivor, *walked* from Theresienstadt back to Stuttgart, where he promptly was installed as a presiding judge. "The Nazis took it away from you; I can reinstate and promote you." (She erroneously credits his reinstatement to the military government which probably only had veto powers.) Nevertheless, there is a long series of endnotes and two separate bibliographies.

A final essay by Rabbi Joel Berger touches on his own conservative religious views, cites welcome and unwelcome (messianic) attention from various Christian approaches, and begins with his own Hungarian past before becoming the officiating rabbi in Stuttgart.

There is important news in a cover letter, signed by the Mayor of Stuttgart, which came with my copy of the book: "As of 1 December 2003....Frau Traub, head of the IRG [Jewish Community for Württemberg], and I [ex officio] entered into an agreement transferring the archives of the IRG to the Stuttgart municipal archives to assure access and security of the archive for research purposes. This does not mean dissolution of the IRG archive, which will continue to be independent, but henceforth will be in the care of the Stuttgart [municipal] archivists."

This may be good news: When I sought to access the 19th century records, to add some

POST SCRIPTUM BY HANS GEORGE HIRSCH

A serious shortcoming of the book concerns the legal re-establishment of the Jewish Religious Community in Württemberg in 1945. Co-author S. Hosseinzadeh writes on p. 1963: "Gleichzeitig wurde die Wiederherstellung des Status einer Koerperschaft des oeffentlichen Rechts angestrebt." At the same time (referring to June 1945), the re-establishment of the status of a "Corporation of Public Law" was sought. ("Corporations of Public Law" in addition to being legal entities, like private corporations, have the right to tax their members.)

The late Judge Alfred Marx, the last Executive of the Jewish Community before its dissolution by the Nazis during World War II, told me the following during my first post-war visit to Stuttgart in March 1958: In June 1945, on the day after his return home from Theresienstadt—on foot, before the return of the other survivors by bus—he, Judge Alfred Marx, issued a proclamation stating that the "Juedische Kultusvereinigung," as the Jewish Religious Community had been called before its dissolution, had been illegally dissolved and did exist as a legal entity.

Judge Marx added to his story proudly that the Württemberg Jewish Community was the only Jewish Community in Germany which was re-created by self-help rather than by military government.

It never occurred to me that 46 years after having listened to Judge Marx's statement, I should have to record and document it.

items to my family tree, nobody at IRG knew where they were stored. I was referred from pillar to post, including the relatively new Rabbi Wurmser. My first reaction of this neglect of "my" legacy was anger. My second reaction is an appreciation that the staff is focused on today, on today's primarily Russian members of the community, that the living are more important than the dead.

On my third attempt, on the third day, a sympathetic staff member had made inquiries, located the depository, even got access to a key and I found the old *Matrikel* neatly stored in a more or less fireproof locked chest, in alphabetical order. I have inquired of the city where and how these records will be accessible and the answer is not encouraging:

1. The postwar (WWII) documents will be sorted and filed but it will take an estimated 18 months.
2. As for the *Matrikel*, no final decision has been reached (as of March 2004) but for now they rest with IRG.
3. As a matter of interest, here is how the records survived: The Nazis, in their quest for "racial" data, as late as April 1945 (the war ended 9 May) diligently filmed the records of the Jewish communities in Württemberg (and maybe other places). After the end of hostilities, the Staatsarchiv, as a goodwill gesture, made printouts of the filmed registers and presented them to the revived Jewish community in Stuttgart. They also turned over some very few surviving original registers. This collection used to be—several years ago—readily accessible at IRG in Stuttgart.

The printouts, for the record, usually show in the upper corner RSJA and a number plus a page number. RSJA stands for something like *Reichs Sippen Amt* (*Reichssippenamt*) *Juden* (or the National Clan office, Jews). I have used them successfully and intensively.

Topics and Events

COMPILED BY GEORGE E. ARNSTEIN

MUNICH has a web site for its new Jewish museum: WWW.JUEDISCHESZENTRUMJAKOBSPLATZ.DE.

A recent *Newsletter* of the City Archives of Munich (dated January 2004 but to be published at irregular intervals), includes an English translation by Dr. Margret Szymanski of two major news items: 1: The ceremonial laying of a cornerstone for a Jewish Museum and cultural center at St. Jakobsplatz. Bernhard Purin, director of the Jewish Museum in Fürth, has been appointed director of the future Munich museum; and 2: Publication by the City Archives of the first volume of the *Biographical Book of Commemoration for Munich Jews 1933-1945.* It features short biographies of 4,596 men and women, deported from Munich after November 1941, victims of the Nazi extermination machinery. It similarly includes Jewish citizens who committed suicide between 1933 and 1945, and of persons who died a "natural death." Jewish emigrants are not the subject of this volume. Their biographies are to be published in a second volume, scheduled for 2004.

Book citation is: Munich City Archives (eds.), *Biographisches Gedenkbuch der Müenchner Juden 1933-1945*, Band 1, 871 pages, hardback ISBN 3-00-012626-0 €49, (available at Munich City Archives, Fax: 49-89-233-30831, and in bookstores.)

WORLD WAR I MEMORIALS. A website in German and English is devoted to telling the story of the restoration of the gravesites of Jewish casualties of WWI at: WWW.HISTORIKER.DE/PROJEKTE/HDBG/KRIEGSGRAEBER/ENGLISH.

The individual behind this effort is Israel Schwierz (reserve captain, Bundeswehr, lay leader and teacher of religion of the Jewish community of the US Army Würzburg) who writes: "...until 1945 there was devoted a lot of energy and ingenuity to rid Germany of the honored memory of the Jewish German soldiers who died in WWI (1914-1918). In many a location in Greater Germany the names of the Jewish dead were removed, or chiseled out of the communal memorials.

"Especially nasty were the measures after the [German] occupation of France in WWII under the slogan: 'No Jew could possibly have died for Germany.' Accordingly stones with the Star of

David were removed, replaced with a cross inscribed with the words 'Unknown German soldier.' It is to the credit of a [German organization] that after 1945 it indefatigably searched and found the gravesites of the...[Jewish] soldiers, restored their names and their honor."

The website includes an alphabetical geographic list of all relevant Bavarian burial sites which, in turn has alphabetical lists of names, often with photographs of the memorials. For a thorough bibliography, not confined to Bavaria, go to this website and select the link "Literatur."

Schwierz also is the author of *Steinerne Zeugnisse juedischen Lebens in Bayern* [Remains in Stone of Jewish Life in Bavaria].

EINSTEIN ON THE WEB. The latest version of the extended Einstein family from Buchau (today Bad Buchau) in Southwest Germany is, thanks to the major efforts of Gary Silverstein of Cleveland, Ohio, now available on the Web: HTTP://FAMILYTREEMAKER.GENEALOGY.COM/USERS/S/I/L/GARY-SILVERSTEIN.

If you log onto the above site you will note that it provides access to a small number of photographs, such as Albert Einstein's birthplace, and a huge descendant chart which runs in an outline format for 35 pages. This means that it omits notes and sources. It also removes details, for reasons of privacy, of descendants known or presumed to be living. Gary included George Arnstein's large database, partly published in *Stammbaum* July 1996.

Einstein's 125th birthday will be celebrated this year. It began with a major exhibit and invited dignitaries, scientists and former residents in Ulm, his birthplace.

WELCOME TO JEWISHENCYCLOPEDIA.COM, available free on the Internet. This website contains the complete contents of the 12-volume *Jewish Encyclopedia,* originally published in the period 1901-1906. It contains more than 15,000 articles and illustrations. The online version contains the unedited contents of the original encyclopedia. Since the original work was completed almost 100 years ago, it does not cover a significant portion of modern Jewish History (e.g., the creation of Israel, the Holocaust, etc.). However, it does contain much information that is remarkably relevant today.

HANDY GUIDES. A German publisher has produced a series of concise folders, about six inches square, which "walk" the reader through what remains of the Jewish past in southern Germany. To date there are 28 books in the series. The website for the Publisher Verlag Medien und Dialog is WWW.MEDIEN-UND-DIALOG.DE.

Here is an incomplete list of the towns, mostly in Baden and Württemberg, plus a bit of Hesse and Bavaria, for which little booklets (up to 32 pages) have been published. Most cost € 2.50.

Bad Buchau, Baisingen, Creglingen, Emmendingen, Esslingen/Neckar, Forchheim/Obfr., Fürth-Synagogen, Fürth-Gedenkorte, Fürth-Stiftungen, Haigerloch, Kippenheim, Konigsbach, Krumbach-Hürben, Laupheim, Ludwigsburg, Main-Spessart-Kreis, Miltenberg Neuwied, Offenburg, Pforzheim, Rotenburg a.d. Fulda, Rothenburg a.d. Tauber, Rottweil, Schnaittach, Tübingen, Ulm, Veitshöchheim.

SYNAGOGUES IN EAST GERMANY. Benjamin Rosendahl and Elishewa Shirion seek help for a project, Beth Ashkenaz, a memorial book on the destruction of synagogues which were in East Germany (the former GDR). They are looking for eye witness reports (including non-Jewish witnesses), pictures, or any other related material. Contact them by mail: 58 King George St, P.O. Box 7440, 91073 Jerusalem, Israel; Email: SYNAGOG@NETVISION.NET.IL or fax: 972-2-6233226 or Tel.: 972-2-6233225.

CELEBRATE 350: JEWISH LIFE IN AMERICA 1654-2004. A year-long series of programs will mark 350 years of communal life in America. The commemoration dates itself from the landing in New Amsterdam (today's New York City) in 1654 of a small group of Jews from Recife, Brazil. For a national calendar of activities, a newsletter, to track the outpouring of activities, or to contribute, contact

Celebrate 350
330 Seventh Avenue, 21st Floor
New York, NY 10001
INFO@CELEBRATE350.ORG
Phone: (212) 629-0500, x. 350
Fax: (212) 629-0508

EUTHANASIA AND STERILIZATION. Renate Rosenau in Alzey, Germany, is researching "euthanasia," forced sterilization and murder of patients considered mentally "defective" under the Nazi regime. With Dietrich Schabow and Bendorf-Sayn, she is preparing a conference on Nov 19-21, 2004 in Bendorf near Koblenz/Rhein, for the "Arbeitskreis zur Erforschung der nationalistischen Euthanasie und Zwangssterilisation," a nationwide working group. Focus of the conference will be on the Nazi extermination policies 1939-1942. Researchers, professionals, and volunteers will present and discuss results on local and regional levels relating to Nazi race policies. The conference is open to those able to contribute, researchers, and those able to give contemporary testimony. The results of the conference will be published in German.

The Nazi "Euthanasie-Aktion" began in August 1939. Jewish patients were gathered in several hospitals and from there transported for extermination to six mental hospitals, selected for their existing gas chambers: Pirna/Sonnenstein near Dresden, Bernburg/Saale, Brandenburg/Goehrden, Hadamar, Grafeneck, and in Austria, Hartheim near Linz and near Mauthausen. These gas chambers were taken down when the "action" was stopped in August 1941, although sporadic "gentle" killings continued in various locations.

In December 1940, the former private Jewish Jacoby'sche Anstalt, then assigned to the Reichsvereinigung der Juden, was the collection point for all Jewish patients who then were deported during the Holocaust. In five transports between March 22 and November 11, 1942, 573 men and women, patients and staff, were deported. Mr. Schabow researched the names of more than 500 patients, but since almost all the files were lost the project seeks details. Ms. Rosenau researched patients of Alzey mental hospital (1933-1945), among them 11 Jewish patients.

"We hope that family members will provide short biographical details about the victims which will enhance our research and the compilation of data which, in turn will become available to a wider audience as the project becomes successful."

Submit data to RENATEROSENAU@T-ONLINE.DE.

HOHENEMS. This Austrian town, just across the Rhine from Switzerland, today has an active Jewish Museum. This year it recognizes the most prominent member of the former Jewish community, Salomon Sulzer (1804 Hohenems-1890 Vienna). Sulzer was the chief cantor, composer and even honorary citizen of Vienna. The exhibit will mark the restoration of the former Hohenems Synagogue in fall 2004 and will celebrate Sulzer's 200th anniversary. Opens Sunday, 17 October 2004 and is scheduled to close in January 2005. See WWW.JM-HOHENEMS.AT.

2004 OBERMAYER GERMAN-JEWISH HISTORY AWARDS. This year marked the fourth annual presentation of the Obermayer German Jewish History Awards at the Abgeordnetenhaus, the home of the Berlin Parliament. These awards have been co-sponsored by the Obermayer Foundation, the Berlin Parliament, and the internet-based German-Jewish Special Interest Group of JewishGen. The awards are given to non-Jewish Germans who have made extraordinary contributions to preserving the history, culture, cemeteries and synagogues in their own local communities. These volunteers have devoted years of effort to such projects without thought of reward in order to help raise the awareness of the once-vibrant Jewish communities in their midst. Their work has been of immense value to everyone who is interested in German-Jewish genealogy.

The six awardees were selected as examples of the many hundreds of volunteers who have dedicated themselves to the collection, organization, preservation, documentation and publication of materials of Jewish interest.

As most *Stammbaum* subscribers are aware, in almost every German city and town, there are at least a few individuals who have focused their attention and committed their efforts to recording the Jewish history of their communities. Until the first awards were presented in November 2000, their contributions had not been fully recognized, especially by Jews from other parts of the world. These awards have been a modest means of expressing appreciation for the outstanding work done by individuals solely because, as Germans, they feel that it is the right thing for them to do.

The awards were given on January 27, 2004, the German Holocaust Memorial Day, chosen because it is the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz in 1945. Werner L. Frank, the editor of *Stammbaum*, participated in the award ceremony in Berlin as a nominator of one of the awardees, Dr. Christiane Walesch-Schneller. For the first time, one of the awards was presented simultaneously in New York City. Karen Franklin, chair of the *Stammbaum* Advisory Committee and former chair of the Council of American Jewish Museums, presented the award to Dorothee Lottmann-Kaeseler at the annual meeting of the Council, where she was an invited guest speaker.

The awardees have made important contributions to the preservation of the Jewish past in different regions as follows:

Lothar Bembenek and **Dorothee Lottmann-Kaeseler** jointly received an award. Bembenek, a historian and English teacher, initiated and inspired the founding in 1988 of the Aktives Museum Spiegelgasse fuer Deutsch-Juedische Geschichte in Wiesbaden. Lottmann-Kaeseler has been the executive director of the museum for the past eight years. The museum, which is in a 16th-century Jewish building rehabilitated for their use, has undertaken a broad range of activities, including lectures, exhibits, publications,

community marches, and even the virtual reconstruction of a synagogue. The museum's activities stand out as an example of how to achieve community involvement in the history of its Jewish population.

Dr. Klaus-Dieter Ehmke, a medical doctor from Berlin, restored the Jewish cemetery, "Der Gute Ort," in Niederhof (in northeast Germany), and in the process of this restoration, was able to rescue many headstones which were being used as paving stones and steps on neighboring farms. He also gave presentations on the history of the cemetery, including small exhibitions of his photos and rubbings in churches and tea shops.

Cordula Kappner, a former librarian from Hassfurt, Bavaria, has conducted research for over 20 years on the Jewish history of more than 20 communities in Hassberge County; she has presented her work in over 30 exhibitions, and has written and edited a number of books and articles on the subject. She also organized and implemented a memorial wall, each brick of which has the name of a Holocaust victim painted on it by local schoolchildren.

Juergen Sielemann has been an archivist for the city of Hamburg, but his activities have gone very far beyond the requirements of his job. He started and still leads the only Jewish genealogy society in Germany. Furthermore, he is the moving force behind the development of the online Hamburg Emigration Index, as well as a conference related to emigration of Eastern European Jews through the port of Hamburg. He has saved important Nazi records from destruction, and has spoken at Jewish genealogy conferences throughout the world.

Dr. Christiane Walesch-Schneller and her colleagues in the Foerderverein Ehemaliges Juedisches Gemeindehaus Breisach have saved the former Jewish community center in Breisach from destruction and sponsored symposia, lectures and exhibits on Jewish subjects; they also have researched the lives of its former Jewish citizens and connected with their descendants.

The jury that made the final selection was: Werner Loval (Jerusalem); Karen Franklin (New York); Ernest Kallmann (Paris), Sara Nachama (Berlin), Ernst Cramer (Berlin), Walter Momper (Berlin); and Arthur Obermayer (Boston). A number of nominees whose work was considered worthy of recognition received Certificates of Commendation.

Awardees and guests were invited on the evening before the award ceremony to attend the opening ceremony of Touro College Berlin, the first business college in Germany with a special track in Jewish studies. On the following morning, visitors were taken on a conducted tour of Berlin with special emphasis on the many sites of Jewish interest. The award ceremony itself took place in the elegant Plenary Chamber of the Berlin Parliament, with many dignitaries present. Walter Momper, President of the Berlin Parliament and former mayor of Berlin, spoke about the historical significance of the location and the day. He thanked prize winners for dedicating their time and energy to the promotion of tolerance and humanity. Arthur Obermayer then told how his ancestors came from southern Germany. He became committed to these awards after tracing his family roots and discovering that many Germans were reviving and preserving Jewish information in their local communities. Charlotte Knobloch, Vice President of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, stressed the current relevance of this historical work and praised the courageous attempt by prize winners not to see history as a burden, but rather as a challenge which needs to be mastered. Julius Schoeps, professor of modern history at the University of Potsdam, described the difficult path to normality in German-Jewish relations and the importance of patience and courage to achieve these goals.

Stories about the awards were carried in the Berlin daily newspapers, as well as the Associated Press, Agence France-Presse, and Jewish Telegraphic Agency wire services. In the U.S., articles appeared in the *Washington Post* and the *Miami Herald*, as well as many Jewish weeklies. In Israel, the story was carried by the English language editions of both *Haaretz* and the *Jerusalem Post*.

For more information on these awards and awardees, see WWW.OBERMAYER.US/AWARD. The call for nominations for the 2005 awards will be announced in June.

Figure 1 (previous page): Klaus-Dieter Ehmke, Juergen Sielemann, Christiane Walesch-Schneller, Cordula Kappner, Susane Kastner (vice president of the German Bundestag), Lothar Bembenek, Arthur Obermayer (president of German Jewish Community History Council), Sara Nachama (member of the Council and executive director of Touro College Berlin), and Walter Momper (member of the Council and president of the Berlin Parliament).

IN MEMORIAM: ALBERT J. PHIEBIG, 1908-2004

ALBERT J. PHIEBIG DIED ON 27 MARCH 2004 AT THE AGE OF 96. He was the last surviving officer of the *Gesellschaft für jüdische Familien-Forschung*, the Jewish Genealogical Society in Germany prior to the Second World War, which published the well-known journal, *Jüdische Familien-Forschung*. Albert Phiebig was always a strong supporter of German-Jewish genealogy and the Leo Baeck Institute. He donated a personal library of over 400 books, many of them rare German-Jewish community histories, to the Leo Baeck Institute in 2002.

As a young man Albert had wanted to become a bookseller, but his father encouraged him to pursue a career in law. Albert financed his law studies by researching genealogies for various families, many of them in the 1930s prior to the families' departure from Germany (about 20 of these genealogies are in the Leo Baeck Institute Archives). After he had to discontinue his legal studies in 1933, he worked as the statistician of the national Jewish organization, *Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden*, while also conducting genealogical research in archives in Berlin and elsewhere. In an interview with Albert in 1996, published in *Stammbaum* 8/9, Albert indicated that these genealogies gained importance after 1933. When people began realizing that the old country had to be left behind, it was important to learn more about their "roots" that one could carry along to the new country of exile.

Here in the United States, Albert became an antiquarian bookseller, a business he pursued for over 50 years. His collecting reflected a plethora of personal interests. He had one of the largest collections in the world of books on pewter, and an extensive pewter collection. After working for the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during the Second World War, he maintained a collection about people in the OSS, as well as a collection on booksellers and publishers. He was one of the founders of the Antiquarian Book Sellers Association of American and was also a past president of the Pewter Collectors Club of America (New York Chapter).

Albert Phiebig was a charming gentleman, always willing to help fellow researchers. He is survived by his wife of over 40 years, Marianne, a son and daughter-in-law, Thomas and Carole B., and daughter and son-in-law, Barbara Phiebig and Arieh Noah.

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